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G. D. Gager

Juan Valera

and

Spanish-American Literature

JUAN VALERA
and
SPANISH AMERICAN LITERATURE
With Special Reference to the
LITERATURE OF ARGENTINA

BY

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY Gertrude Delé Gager

ENTITLED "JUAN VALERA and SPANISH AMERICAN LITERATURE
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INTRODUCTION

Sociological Causes for the Main Currents of Thought in Spanish American Literatures

In the beginning of the nineteenth century at the time of the invasion of Spain by Napoleon I, the Spanish Colonies, which up to that time had been submissive, gave signs of individual life. Their restlessness was a consequence not only of this invasion, but also of the political and economical decadence of Spain, and of the ideas of liberty which the French Revolution had spread thru all the corners of the civilized world by means of the productions of French philosophers, encyclopedists, and poets. The Colonists were tired of the abuses and exactions of the Metropolis, which were resulting in odious monopolies for the exclusive benefit of certain privileged classes, while they became increasingly detrimental to the poor and neglected majority of the people.¹

There started to develop, therefore, an independence of criterium, and understanding of the national ideal. In their intention of secession and in their political proclamations and constitutions (which had changed with the times and in accordance with the ideals and tendencies of each governing group) the people synthesized their own ideals and their resentments and rancors against the Metropolis.

The movement, which had been begun in 1808 in some of the Colonies, broke out into open rebellion in 1810 with an incentive more economical than political.² Within a short period of time it had extended itself thru every part of the continent which Spain owned, from the Sabine River and Upper California on the north to Cape Horn on the south. It raged fiercely until 1824 when, in the

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battle of Ayacucho, the last cannon shots announced to the world the end of the dominion of Spain in this territory.

The decision which led the ^{colonists} to adopt republican forms of government was due more to the imitation of Anglo-Saxon republican institutions, which they believed a protest against the autocracies and tyrannies of the throne and of the privileged classes,³ than to the conviction that such institutions and forms of government were the most appropriate for the harmonious and peaceful government of their people. In making this choice they disregarded the effect upon themselves of three centuries of Spanish autocratic government and three or more earlier centuries of native brutal caciquismo. During all of these former periods they had learned only to obey blindly the commands from above, and to command autocratically those beneath them, without further reason than the command of the sovereign, in whom were recognized almost divine rights and prerogatives, and no further rule of conduct than the interests of the privileged classes by whom the lands were exploited and for whom the lower classes worked and suffered.⁴

At this time the Spanish dominions were divided into three classes without common ideals or common feelings to hold them together, but with certain Christian ideas sui generis of charity and of faith. Badly understanding each other at the start, they continued to grow farther apart each day, becoming so distinct in all their classes that neither the social level nor the common laws nor the national aspirations were uniting them for the realization of a common interest.⁵ Thus the division was accentuated by the lack of a truly forceful and common sentiment which should have held united those social forces that seemed to repel each other in

proportion as they were brot closer into contact with one another. Those of the upper classes were disposed always to maintain their privileges, while those of the lower classes remained passive and decadent and without hope, but constant struggle absorbed the middle classes which is to say the creoles, and half-breeds, among whom were seen to develop day by day rancor and resentment against the European exploiters. It was evident therefore that, as soon as opportunity should present itself, this division would be a cause of serious conflicts.⁶

Altho it is not the object of this thesis to deal at length with the primary causes of the bloody struggles which devastated these Spanish American countries during so much of the nineteenth century, inasmuch as the literatures of all the peoples of the earth are no more than the expression of their sentiments and desires, of their customs and of their ideals and hopes, I have thought it fitting to explain in brief at least, these antecedents as points of enlightenment upon certain facts which seem to be paradoxes or anachronisms, in that part of Spanish American literature which I propose to treat, under the guidance of Juan Valera.

In the Spanish American literatures from the date of their independence to the present, and more especially among the principal writers of Argentina, about whom I shall write in this thesis, there prevails a curious phenomenon which is easy to explain if we take into account the circumstances which occurred previous to its realization, together with the history and intellectual development of the said peoples. I refer to the influence of the French literature on the ideas and development of Spanish American literatures in general and of Argentine literature in particular.⁷

As a result of her decadence both moral and economic and thru the struggles with her revolting colonies, not only had Spain lost her rule over these growing nations, but her moral predominance and her ideas of government as well as her philosophic and social ideas began to decay among these societies, yielding place to the doctrines which revolutionary France was dispersing thru all the corners of the earth.

At the same time it must be remembered that the young peoples of Spanish America, burdened with hatreds and resentments against the oppression and graft of the peninsulars, tasted with enjoyment anything that was produced in opposition to this people and its ideas. It is to be remembered also that France, then at the head of revolutionary peoples who were overturning thrones in order to put in their place the tribunal of the republic, was a nation in whose veins ran Latin blood. Thus by its temperament and its ideals and by its very idiosyncrasy, which readily adapts itself to the exaltation and vivacity of the Spanish American temperament, France came to occupy in ideas at least the place of Spain among these peoples, who began their individual political life with ideals, but who were lacking in the preparatory political education so indispensable for the good functioning of all independent government, and the carrying out of those ideals.

It is to be recognized that the Spanish ideas were not changed at all. The doctrines, which customs, laws, and inheritance had imposed, could not be changed in a violent manner, but if part of the Spanish American society preserved what its ancestors brot to them, it is certain that the other part of it preferred French theories and doctrines. Thus from this situation originated two

currents of literature, two schools which became part of the political and philosophical life and of the social tendencies of that society.

In his "Cartas Americanas" the illustrious Spanish writer and critic, D. Juan Valera, makes constant allusion to this fact and the author of "Pepita Jiménez" points out the inconsequence and exaggeration of those writers, who let themselves be influenced by their "francofilia" or sometimes by their "hispanofobia", and who accept blindly whatever French literature produces, without offering any objection, and who even deny to the literature and language of Spain the prestige and rights of superiority which it has over other literatures.

In our judgment the Spanish critic has reason enough for expressing himself as he does. It can not but appear unreasonable that men of judgment and possessed of a certain amount of education which is supposed to be rational, should hold the language they speak responsible for things for which men, or the epoch in which they lived and developed, should be blamed.

PART ONE

Valera's Statement and Defense of his Purpose in
Writing the "Cartas Americanas"

It will be the purpose of this study to determine two things. First, why is Valera interested in Spanish American literatures and what is his purpose in writing about them; and second, to what extent does he show us that these literatures merit the estimate which he puts upon them?

In the dedicatory letter to the first volume of "Las Cartas Americanas", Valera makes several statements which point towards the reply to these questions. He asserts, on his first page, that both his purpose and the subject he deals with lend to his work (the "Cartas Americanas") an interest whose attraction will be felt by one who has worked much in the political history of Spain.⁸

What adds to the difficulty of this particular task, however, is the hostile political relationship of the nations with whose literatures the author is concerned.⁹ For centuries the progeny have spoken with disdain of the parent country and with no less disdain have they been recognized by it. The author, therefore, who is to succeed in securing the recognition of a literary unity between nations thus prejudiced will find it necessary to possess the skill both of a critic and of a diplomat.

Is it not fitting, then, that Juan Valera (who is so well known for his success both in the literary and diplomatic circles of his century, and who has been considered even as much a diplomat in literature as in other things) should undertake a task so worthy of his best powers? So competent is the author that we our-

selves immediately feel confidence in his exposition from the mere fact that he has seen fit to undertake it. For what diplomat to several foreign countries will voluntarily submit himself to attacks which will bring upon him the charge of supporting the cruelties of his native land on the one hand, or of sanctioning the anti-Spanish attitude of Spanish American literatures on the other, unless he is prepared to present material which will in itself substantially refute the charges which the history of those lands seems to justify from the outset? What critic or what Royal Academician will undertake to prove a unity of spirit in nineteen literatures which for centuries have bristled with antagonism towards each other, unless he possesses evidence of their mutual error in this antagonism which would be certain to receive favorable recognition and thus bring definite mutual advantages to those nations? And that the author himself has confidence in his subject matter is evident from his every word.

In his dedicatory letter to Don Antonio Canovas del Castillo he asserts his belief in the fecundity of Spanish American literatures even before their Independence.¹⁰ And then he chooses to astonish his country still further by presenting in defense of his argument materials which shall not even be able to boast of unity,¹¹ but shall rather be chosen at random from such works as it had been his good fortune to receive from Spanish American authors or academy correspondents.¹² Anything, he says, which will assure the acquaintance of Spain with Spanish American literatures, will be both a service to literature and a contribution toward proving the persistence of a real unity despite the political division.¹³

As a race is known by its language and a people by its liter-

ature, it is equally true that one may look to the language and literature of a people for its philosophy, for the spirit which characterizes it, and for its history, traditions, and customs. Thus while in the "Cartas Americanas" he will remind us of the unity of the language and literature, he must also acknowledge the philosophical and historical antagonism and disdain which Spanish American literatures show for the motherland. While we shall find the critic demonstrating the persistence of this unity of spirit, some explanation of the historical prejudices which permeate the literatures will support the criticism which the author finds reason for passing upon them.

The attitude was mutual. Spanish America felt disgraced to have sprung from so unworthy a nation, and Spain felt humiliated that the colonists had long since so mingled their blood with that of the South American natives that an inferior race had resulted, which they were in no way loath to disinherit, even despite the bond of language which was being questioned for the same reason. The accusations of South America sprang from such facts or traditions as had justified to them their struggle for independence. The earliest of these accusations is the charge which they laid to Spain of destroying a highly developed civilization which was credited to the Indians at the time of colonization. A further charge was that of the cruelty with which Spain had treated the native. Then came the disdain caused by the defeat of the power supposedly so great, and still later came contempt for the power which everybody had conquered. South America then laid all her misfortunes to the inheritance of Spanish blood, Spanish culture, and Spanish institutions.¹⁴

At the same time that Spain had lost her political power her

literature too had experienced a period of almost complete obscuration. Thus she not only offered no national support to her offspring, but the ultimate failure of her intellectual resources had completed the contempt which had already developed from the political incompetency she had manifested so widely. Under these circumstances, if a guiding light, a motherland, was wanted, there was nothing left for them to do but to adopt one. Had this place not been deliberately sought by the French, there might have remained a chance for discussion as to whether or not the colonies sought their guidance from pure choice, even as Spain herself did, at this time. But Valera clearly points out the spontaneous recognition of French literature by the Spanish; for even without the spread of French culture to Spanish America, thru the selfish plotting for conquest of Napoleon the Third, Paris would have been recognized as the intellectual center of the Latin world at this time, and it is not easy to imagine that any other race would ultimately have had the success which the French had in their influence upon the intellectual life of the South Americans.

Thus the appreciation which the Spanish-speaking peoples manifested towards French literature was an indication of a fundamental racial taste. While both South America and Spain manifested particular interest in the works of Victor Hugo, still each maintained a stamp of individuality in that which it took from him. This served to distinguish their respective literatures, while their mutual fondness for him proved the unity of their common aptitude for literature.

No doubt the basis of this variation was due to the difference in the conditions of the countries, which resulted from their

relative difference in age. While Spain is subject to the judgment of precedents and customs, Spanish America still has them to develop. Thus Spain is apt to be discriminating in her selection of what she puts into her literature, whereas Spanish America lays herself open to the charge of choosing extravagantly rather than wisely.

Altho Hugo is the idol of particular note with both countries, the above statement is applicable especially to his influence on Spanish American literature. It is to be expected therefore that the "Cartas Americanas" will find reason to set forth the significance of this situation and one is not surprised to find that the very first letter is entitled "Sobre Victor Hugo".

The occasion of the letter is the attacks made by two Colombian writers upon Valera's anti-Hugo attitude. The first author referred to is unknown; but he published his article in "La Miscelánea", a Colombian review. The other assailant is Sr. Rivas Groot who makes his attack in "El Telegrama", also a Colombian review.¹⁵ The accusation was made that Valera was trying to diminish the merit of Victor Hugo.¹⁶ In the reply which this Carta makes he shows that while Hugo deserves very high esteem still he is full of extravagances that are so manifest and attractive that they catch the fancy of young writers whose untrained judgment causes them to estimate an author's fame by the frequency and brilliance of his follies. Herein Valera sees a danger for these young writers.

The argument by which the author defends himself against the attack contains some of the delightful satire so characteristic of the critic. "Is Hugo infallible and beyond criticism?" asks Valera. Then he calls attention to the criticism which classic writers such

as Calderon or Shakespeare have undergone. Criticism is not a constant factor, says Valera; there was a time when the rules of criticism were fixed and only the works which conformed to the literary rules of the four "poets", Aristotle, Horace, Vida, and Boileau, were considered pure.¹⁷ Today criticism sets up a confusion of subtleties and opens abysses full of unspeakable feelings and thots, and attempts to win us to its every passing whim and to make us accept as sublime a thousand extravagances.¹⁸

"What I object to in Hugo", says Valera, "are those rare and extravagant expressions, of whose merit no one can convince me."¹⁹ In his elaborate method of expression Valera compares Hugo to Góngora, and in the course of justifying his comparison, he says that while Hugo has written more beautiful things than Góngora, he has also written more foolishness.²⁰ Despite this attack, however, and despite Hugo's lack of certain qualities that Valera esteems, the critic praises him even to the point of putting him on the throne of the poets of that century, because of his profundity, power of imagination, and other qualities.²¹

But the "Unknown" and Sr. Rivas Groot, whose articles Valera was answering, evidently did not appreciate a praise which was tempered with censure, but condemned it as contradictory. In reply, therefore, Valera justified his method by showing that their misconception of his logic was to be explained by their failure to perceive the possibilities of difference between a criticism which is general and one which makes a detailed analysis. The conclusion implied was, of course, that while the accomplishments of Hugo merited praise in general, the details of his style were open to censure.²²

After thus justifying himself with respect to what they had accused him of, Valera strengthened the force of his own argument by calling the attention of his assailants to the fact that the fundamental difference between their estimate of Hugo and his own, was that they praised him, declaring that he was without sin, while, as a critic, he praised him in spite of his sins.²³ Valera's particular objection to this blind adoration of the genius was indicated by his warning concerning the probability of imitation by young Colombian writers of those artless details (which are so evidently a characteristic of the famous author), rather than of the more subtle beauties which these elaborations would be apt to conceal from them.²⁴

The Colombian, however, does not comprehend the value of the critic's warning, for in "La Nación" of Bogotá, 18th and 25th of May, 1888, he replies to this first "Carta Americana" with a warm defense of the French idol and another attack upon Valera's criticism of him. Valera receives the charge with dignity. He makes no further attempt to justify his original letter, but writes a definite response to the new attack of Señor Groot, who charges that Valera's attitude toward Hugo no doubt sprang from an inherent Spanish prejudice which was anti-French in particular and anti-foreign in general.²⁵

This new angle of attack interests us deeply. If the critic whose opinions we are to consider is biased by any prejudice, whether particular or general, inherent or acquired, it is incumbent upon us to reveal it and take it into consideration in its effect upon his conclusions and our own. But a moment's reflection makes us more than skeptical about this attack of Señor Groot upon the

cosmopolitan critic.²⁶ Were Juan Valera prejudiced, it would not have escaped the notice of such critics as J. D. M. Ford, who said, "As a result of his great experience gained in the disillusioning school of diplomacy, Valera is one who never lets his feelings run away with him; we are sure that in him the mind is always in control of the heart";²⁷ or of the critic Salcedo Ruiz, who asserts, "Valera was a type sui generis in whom the cosmopolitanism of life and culture never clouded the Hispanism, and even the Andalusianism, of his race and fatherland. In Lisbon, in Naples, in Dresden, in St. Petersburg, in Rio Janeiro, as in Madrid, he studied the world, the science, and the letters of the medium in which he was living; but feeling himself always Andalusian; and in a fine and gracious Andalusianism were joined as flowers in an artistic bouquet the old Christian and the pagan classicist, the believer and the skeptic, the man of the world and the scholar."²⁸ It is out of the question, therefore, to think of accusing of prejudices a person who can be characterized by a breadth of understanding such as this.

In answering this charge of Señor Groot to the effect that Valera is moved by hatred of things French in particular, and of things foreign in general, Valera says: "Rare is the Spaniard who ever felt such hatred or prejudice and I am not that rare Spaniard".²⁹ The Spaniards, moreover, says Valera, appreciate everything foreign more than they do the domestic. Even poets "who are usually a most arrogant class, are humble in Spain", and so distinguished a one as Lope de Vega ("who doesn't seem to me to be a three for a cent poet") does not hesitate to insist that he can not compete with the Italians.³⁰ Whether foreign things are better, or just seem better because they are new, Valera says he does not know. He adds, how-

ever, that the Spaniards admire the French even more than they do the people of other foreign countries because they are less badly acquainted with them.³¹

In conclusion, the critic asserts that were he to modify his criticism of Hugo in any way, it would be to praise him less, for upon further reflection he questions whether or not Byron, Goethe, and others do not have more right than Hugo to the distinction he has hitherto awarded him.

In addition to refuting the particular charge of Groot, the significance of Valera's reference to Spanish appreciation of French literature is to be found in its laying bare a field of criticism which it is evident he is to be further concerned with in his thesis on the inherent unity of the Spanish literary tradition.

The interest of South America in French literature is everywhere apparent and may be accounted for as a natural consequence of the ambition of their youth. Some critic has said "South America aims to take its place in the ranks of civilization". In the early period of the colony, Spain had lost her leadership in literature as in all else.³² France on the other hand was leading all the world.³³ She had sought to make her influence felt in South America, and from an early period had secured interest and appreciation from the Latin brother. Thus, with the incentive which fame added to natural interest, France easily made headway in South America. Barriga says, "All is French in our country, the idea we have of man and of human life, the tastes which predominate in high classes of society . . . the books which are used as official instruction, and those which are mere recreation for the spirit"³⁴

But the extent to which France should be imitated in the young literature was a problem to solve and one which was easier to determine theoretically than practically. Lastarria has defined the standard and we shall be interested to see how far the judgment which Valera puts upon the worth of Hugo as an idol to be imitated corresponds to the standard which the Chilean critic sets forth for his people. The judgment of Lastarria is based upon the standard which France has adopted for herself. "She has adopted (in place of her former rules) truth and human nature as the oracle which she should consult for her decisions: in this she merits our imitation." Beyond this, Señor Lastarria believes that the republics should put their own individuality into their literature.³⁵ This is precisely the position Valera defends.

The evidence of their common origin is, moreover, an unavoidable indication of the material upon which their originality is to build. "Language is not all in vocabulary", says Juan Agustín Barriga, "nor does it reside only in grammar; nor is it a conjunct of inert voices nor a body of abstract rules, as some seem to believe; it is a live organism, which moves across time and space, which lives the life peculiar to its own race and identifies itself with it and transforms itself with it, without these transformations being a cause sufficient to destroy the identity of its being."³⁶ Thus while each of the republics has its own individuality, the unity in South American literatures is found deep in the inheritance of that "live organism", its mother tongue, rather than in any common political development. "I don't believe it possible that while there is a Spanish language, there be anything but a Spanish literature, where our language is spoken", says

Valera.³⁷ It is, therefore, the unity of the fundamental racial talent in the literature of the Spains that Valera regards worthy of his consideration. "Although my purpose is purely literary, still, without planning it, the literary transcends into points of the highest political sphere. The unity of civilization and of language, and to a great extent of race also, persists in Spain and in the Republics of America, despite their emancipation and independence from the Metropolis. As much as is written in Spanish in both worlds is Spanish literature, and in my sight, upon treating it, I purpose to maintain and tighten the bond of a certain superior and broad nationality which unites us all."³⁸

The foregoing statements of purpose are made in the dedicatory letter of the second volume of the "Cartas Americanas", in which he includes also an introduction to a discussion of certain criticisms by Mera and Merchan, which he is to follow thruout the volume. His remarks in this letter are brief, but significant. The first indication we find of a polemic deals with the general subject of the justification of Valera's praise and censure of literature. The great critic declares that tho he is suave in his criticisms, he does not flatter, and tho his censure may be keen, it is well justified.³⁹ In pointed counter attack, moreover, he indicated his authority by calling upon History as witness of the soundness of his position, and of the frailty of the anti-Spanish attitude of the works of his critics. Were they to confine themselves to historical data, maintains Valera, they would find such absolute evidence of the fact that Spain colonized South America with the intent of spreading European civilization that they would turn about from their accusation of Spanish cruelty to a recognition of

their own guilt⁴⁰ and would call themselves to account rather than their forefathers.

But the defense and accompanying counter-attack which Valera entered upon with Mera and Merchan was a polemic which he could not avoid undertaking. It was made in direct response to a challenge which "La Época" gave him, that he attacked the anti-Spanish attitude of Mera. This paper had noticed evidence of an anti-Spanish attitude in the pages of the "Ojeada" of Mera, the Academy correspondent in Ecuador, and had accordingly made the satiric announcement, "Our friend, Don Juan Valera, can take note of this fact for his famous 'Cartas Americanas'".⁴¹

Despite the non-disputatious attitude of Valera, it seemed in harmony with the purpose he had in mind in writing his "Cartas Americanas" to reply to this challenge. "My purpose in writing these letters", says Valera, "is not to enter upon polemics with the Spanish Americans, but to renew as far as possible the friendships which ought to endure among all men of Spanish blood and language. For that reason I do not desire to flatter you, but to make known in this Peninsula the best fruits of your genius."⁴²

Various factors, indeed, made it even necessary that Valera reply. Foremost among these perhaps is the fact that since Mera was a corresponding member of the Spanish Royal Academy in Ecuador, his attitude towards Spain could not be ignored. Furthermore, in his dedicatory letter to the Director of the Academy asking that his "Cumandá" be presented to the Academy, Mera had expressed a sentiment so totally patriotic that it made the charge of this anti-Spanish sentiment seem wholly inconsistent.⁴³ Finally, contrary to the charge of the "Época" was the beauty of the sentiment

of "Cumandá", which Valera termed the most beautiful narration written in prose in Spanish America, "all of which redounds to the glory of Spain and is a new bond of friendship between it and its former colony, today the Republic of Ecuador".⁴⁴

Despite this evidence of hispanofilia, Valera admits that on other occasions Mera may have given abundant evidence of hispanofobia, since mankind is prone to be inconsistent and wilful.

But Juan Valera was not the critic to put forth a judgment on so limited a premise. So he meets the challenge of the "Época" as tho it were not only a call to analyze the possible anti-Spanish sentiment of Mera, but also the more general question of the possible anti-Spanish sentiment of the several Spanish American literatures, so that he may have sufficient scope and evidence for drawing conclusions of real value. The study which he makes is widely inclusive and carries conviction thru its marshalling of historical data.

The first point which he developes is that much that is said against Spain in South American literatures is due to a prurient desire to appear sentimental and enlightened in the manner of Paris and London.⁴⁵ Thus, by adopting poorly grounded complaints against Spain in support of their literary hobbies, Spanish American writers fail to recognize the real worth of their own motherland.

Valera's claim is based upon the weight of authentic records and historical data testifying to the noble purpose of the Spaniards in their attempt to transfer their civilization to the New World. He uses the very documents quoted by the anti-Spanish writers and by his faultless logic leaves them on the horns of a dilemma. First among these documents, Valera calls attention to

the "Laws of the Indies" and similar documents. "The Laws of Indies", the "Ordinances of Charles V", those of Ferdinand of Aragon, and of Doña Isabel the Catholic, were good and beneficent. From the time that the Pope declared in a bull that the sons of America were men, the Kings of Spain dictated laws to protect them and favor them; but disregarding these laws, the Spanish colonists maltreated the Indians, beat them, humiliated them, and made them work to death as if they were beasts of burden, etc.⁴⁶ This datum is evidence enough of the humane attitude of Spain, even to the extent of referring to the Indians as "sons". The law, moreover, indicates the wholesome administration which the Spaniards intended for the Indians and which, if not maintained by the colonists, assuredly releases Spain from responsibility for the misdeeds of the colonists themselves. In his reference to this fact, Valera points out that the accusation of cruelty towards the Indians is an accusation against the ancestors of the present day Spanish Americans, rather than an accusation against the ancestors of the present day Spaniards, since the evil administration of these laws was carried out chiefly by Spaniards who went to Spanish America and remained there, becoming the ancestors, in direct descent, of the Spanish Americans of today.

Valera next asks: Why do the Spanish-American literatures contain this anti-Spanish spirit while in the literature of the colonial period of North America the attitude of antagonism toward the motherland is lacking? Nothing is more enlightening on this question than the "Laws of the Indies", which put the natives of the American soil upon a level with the conqueror. This attitude had fostered close relationship between Spaniard and Indian, even

to the point of intermarriage. The hatred which the Indian had developed for the Spaniard was due to the fact that the colonists blamed the Spanish law for their own cruel treatment of these people. The Indians, with whose blood that of many of the colonists was now mingled, knew no reason for disbelieving this charge, and thus they remained hoodwinked in their credulity, and assisted in the war for independence with the illusion that once the Spanish were conquered, their independence was assured. So great was their confidence in the freedom they would have after the Spanish yoke was off that their literature gives proof of plans for the establishment of a native government which they had visions of when once they should have accomplished their emancipation from Spain.

In North America, on the contrary, the Indians had never been recognized as equals, and consequently the colonists remained of so pure English blood that there never was a very numerous mixed class. Their revolution, therefore, could not be looked upon as a "reconquest" by either the colonists or the Indians.

So great was the place of the Indians and half-breeds among the Spanish-American revolutionists, says Valera, that there was great difficulty in giving the South Americans a national name without offending them. If one called them Spanish, many of them were offended because they preferred to be considered some distinct new race, and if one called them Indians or half-breeds, they were equally dissatisfied. "There are", says Valera, "among the Spanish Americans, even amongst the most discreet and wise, a thousand unjust contradictions."⁴⁷

But, as the Indian was misled in his estimate of Spanish rule, so the world has been misled by much of this inconsistent

literature of the colonists. This literature is full of the personal interest of the Indians in the success of the revolution, says Valera, and he tells of how the Inca, Huaina-Capac, appeared to the poet Olmedo when he was celebrating the victory of Junín over the Spaniards, and prophesied to him the new victory which they were to win later at Ayacucho. It seemed to Valera, moreover, that the revolutionists in the poem were prone to see the importance of the victory primarily, if not entirely, in its effect on the lot of the Indian. The prophecy even speaks as though the Indians were about to reestablish their old empire after the conquest, rather than that they were to be a part of Catholic republics established "according to the European taste and doctrines".⁴⁸

The literature, therefore, contains the attitude of the Indian towards the Spaniards as the oppressors, although as a matter of fact those oppressors were the colonists with whom they were mingling and for whom they were fighting. The hatred for Spain expressed by the South Americans in their literatures was unwise, because it reflected upon their own cruelty. Of course, it represented an imitation of the popular anti-Spanish attitude of the English and French whose governments they were copying.

After the conquest, the literature of the colonists shows corresponding inconsistency. As evidence of their leniency, their authorities declare: "We have abolished enforced labor among the Indians, we have suppressed personal taxation, and discarded the whipping post".⁴⁹ But Valera shows that this is merely due to the general demands of advanced civilization and not merely to their independence from Spain.

As the best example of the treatment of the Indians by the colonists after the emancipation, Valera cites from Montalvo, who shows that tho the Indians were free by law, yet they were "slaves of abuse and of custom". After describing the scenes of cruel treatment of the Indian, says Valera, Montalvo exclaims, "If my pen should have the gift of tears, I would write a book entitled "The Indian" and it would make the world weep".⁵⁰ In another reference to the same poet, we find the statement that altho the South Americans knew that they had in every way led to the degradation of the Indian, yet, they justified themselves on the ground that the Spanish had left things in that condition and that they would remain thru the centuries. Valera points out the ridiculousness of this thot in that if the authors were Indians, they acknowledged themselves to be victims of the total forgetfulness of God and man, and forever doomed to perpetual humiliation, and if they were Spaniards, they confessed themselves guilty of bringing degradation to generations of people. If they were half-breeds then they were open to both these charges.⁵¹ Further evidence of the lack of logic in the charges made by these anti-Spanish faddists may be found, says Valera, in their claim that these Indians had an ancient and advanced civilization and that its destruction was caused by the Spaniards.

All these ideas are expressed by Mera in hyperbolical phrases which declare categorically that the Quichua language had attained perfection in every genre of literature (including the drama) before the arrival of the Spaniards. "It is, therefore, evident", says the satirical Valera, "that the theatre was one of the most noble diversions of the court of the Incas".⁵² But this

excellent literature and intellectual progress was destroyed by the conqueror, continues Mera, and he even asserts that in place of it the Spaniards left vice and degradation.⁵³

In reply to this charge that the Spaniards had destroyed the innocence of the Indians (a sentiment found also in one of the best odes of Quintana), Valera recalls a passage from "The Chronicle of Peru" by Pedro de Cieza, which shows the treachery and barbarism of this race that was so innocent and noble according to Mera.⁵⁴ After quoting enough from this author to show the uncivilized barbarism of this man-eating race, Valera could easily point out that the cruelty of the Spaniards could not have compared with that of these cannibals, whose civilization Mera boasted of.

In addition to presenting these evidences of inconsistency which this "Chronicle of Cieza" offers, Valera challenges Mera (and the other Spanish-American writers who take the same position) to show him this Indian literature they have boasted of. Nothing in your records proves that it has been destroyed, says Valera, and yet you can show us only one Indian poem which was written before our arrival in your country. This poem, moreover, is not of a quality to prove the existence either of a valuable literature, or of scholars and philosophers.⁵⁵

Thus, the foundation for the anti-Spanish spirit of the Spanish-American literatures becomes more and more scanty as the facts become better known, and Valera says that he does not blame the "Época" for expecting him to call to account the author whose "Ojeada" so clearly accused Spain of the cruel and unwarranted destruction of an advanced civilization among the Indians. Further-

more, certain general principles of historical development have an important bearing upon this problem.

In accord with the laws of the natural progress of civilization, nations continue to progress or else fall backwards into a savage state and gradually disappear,⁵⁶ points out Valera. The theory of the continued rise and fall of countries is shown today in the progress of civilized countries and in the degradation of such tribes as the savages of Africa, or of South America.

The center of modern civilization is clearly Europe and whatever America has of that civilization has been taken there by Europe.⁵⁷ In other words, Valera maintains the belief that the civilization of the Indians, no matter of what tribe, has in no way affected or benefited the civilization of South America.⁵⁸ He does not consider, furthermore, that it has ever been of a nature to add anything worth while to the civilization that South America inherited from Spain and added to by its own efforts and labor.

The accusation made by Mera against the Spaniards is really made against the Spanish-Americans themselves, since they are the most direct descendents of the only Spaniards against whom the charge could be made.

More extreme even than Mera's is the attack made by the illustrious Cuban, Sr. Merchan.⁵⁹ This author expressed so complete a belief in the advancement of Indian civilization as to have implied that had the Spanish not destroyed "these races, monuments, books, idols, cults, sciences" . . . of the Indians, these people were advancing so rapidly that "by the seventeenth century they would probably have sent conquerors and ships and

would have discovered, conquered, and civilized Europe." Against the Spanish who, he believed, had caused this destruction, Merchan was consistently condemnatory. Yet his invective could not survive the criticism of Valera. "All this is a series of gratuitous suppositions of Sr. Merchan",⁶⁰ says the critic, and he proceeds to show the frailty of it, in the following manner.

The Indian race, for instance, not only had not perished, but was more numerous than at the time of the conquest. Furthermore, the records of this Indian civilization, as they were found by the Spaniards, had been carefully kept, for among the early colonists were numbers of scholars and missionaries who were anxious to find out and record all they could of these people. These scribes were not only unbiased in their attitude towards the natives, but had a truly altruistic desire to record their virtues. Whatever obscurity remains with reference to the history of America before the conquest, therefore, is due to the fact that no further data were available, rather than to the fact that the Spaniards had destroyed it, as is declared by such men as Mera, Merchan, Montalvo, and others. Such a statement, therefore, as that of Sr. Pi y Margall was worthy of being very seriously considered? "Far from admitting that those people are young, I am for maintaining with Humboldt that they were in decadence at the arrival of the Spanish, and had lost remembrance of what they once were. They were ignorant even of the existence of the grandiose remains of a civilized past."⁶¹

In view of such unquestionable records as those that have been adduced, therefore, the anti-Spanish spirit of Spanish American literatures which seeks support in the cruelty of Spain

to the Indians, has been shown to be totally inconsistent and illogical; for Spanish laws demanded that Indians be treated as brothers and history offers every evidence to show that Spain planned to civilize South America and took steps to do so. This spirit in the literatures of these lands, therefore, casts its reflection upon the authors themselves, because if they were Spanish of pure blood, they were unfair to their ancestors; if they were Indian, they showed ingratitude for the advantages the Spaniards had brought them, and if they were mixed Spanish and Indian, then they would be guilty of both of these crimes.⁶² There was, therefore, no truth in works which maintained an anti-Spanish sentiment, no matter what premise they adopted, and despite the fact that authors of value have adopted it in such works as the "Ojeada" or "Literary History of Ecuador", wherein, says Valera, "You imagine and invent an American civilization which they destroyed".⁶³ Despite the force of these attacks, Valera does not give up, but finds still another agent through which he may tear down the arguments of these literatures in their depreciation of Spain, and thereby bring further evidence against the factors which this spirit claims to have arisen from. This final evidence of contradiction springs from the works themselves.

On the pages of the "Ojeada", Valera finds his data. Even as the work had claimed to give ample proof of the destructive influence of the motherland, so later it expresses both admiration and gratitude for her constructive colonizing; for the civilizing action, the fervent affection, and the goodness of the elements of culture brot into America by men of our race. With marvelous exactitude, Valera finds the anti-Spanish accusations refuted,

one by one, on the pages of this book. It tells how the Spanish tried to civilize the Indians, to convert them to the Catholic faith, to develop their moral standards; how they prepared schools for them and libraries with many precious books in them. All of the uplifting influences which it had blamed the Spaniards for neglecting or accused them of not doing, it now praises them for.

In addition to this praise of Spain, the "Ojeada" shows notable disdain for the ancestors of South-Americans for destroying those libraries which Spain had contributed. In their reference to their own literature, Valera believes they exaggerate the value of it in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at least. In neither of these centuries, he says, was the country in a position to expect good literature. The only author whom he considers was Doña Jeronima Velasco, a seventeenth century writer whom Lope de Vega praises. Otherwise the poets were too extremely gongoristic at this period to be worth while. With reference to the eighteenth century, Valera proceeds, the "Ojeada" is almost too critical. While the expulsion of the Jesuits had taken many of their best poets to Italy, yet some of them wrote very estimable poetry in their exile.⁶⁴ Under Carlos III, moreover, they received the education which added "incentive to the inspiration of such brilliant leaders as Sucre, Bolivar, Olmedo, and Bello"⁶⁵ "But", says Valera, "how is it that from the time you seceded from Spain, hardly have you had a good poet?"⁶⁶ Nearly all their poets are doctors, and the "Ojeada" condemns them with a cruelty which Valera agrees is indispensable.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the picture which the "Ojeada" gives of the vices

of poetry in Ecuador and all Spanish America may be applied to the bad poets who are also abundant in Spain. The difference between Spain and Spanish America, continues Valera, is that except where enmity governs the criticism Spain prefers to allow the poet to die a natural death, whereas the South American critic kills him.

Yet Valera agrees with their criticisms in many respects. "In lyric poetry there is hardly a class whose defects you do not mark with judgment", he says.⁶⁸ Again in their criticism of the habit of imitation in Spanish-American writings, he approves of their censure of the persistence of the Spanish Americans to exaggerate the faults of their idols (Espronceda, Byron, Lamartine, and Victor Hugo) without succeeding in reproducing their beauties. Thus not only does the "Ojeada" express a sentiment worthy of praise for its patriotism but it censures those very faults of its own literature which Valera had already indicated the danger of, in the warning of his letter on Hugo.

Valera's reply to "La Época" therefore advances the possibility of accomplishing his purpose to show the unity of the Spanish literatures by eliminating a point of friction which for the casual reader of South American literatures is certain to cause a pronounced bias against a thesis such as Valera is supporting. In making its challenge therefore "La Época" had represented public opinion, and in discovering the inconsistency in the "Ojeada" Valera found ample opportunity to parallel it with other Spanish American literatures and to draw general conclusions concerning the popular influence of French and English anti-Spanish thot which the "Ojeada" itself recognized as a serious menace at least

to the style, if not to the thot, of those literatures.

After Valera had reached this point in his discussion with Sr. Mera, he received from Sr. Merchan of Cuba a sixty-five page pamphlet which he felt impelled to answer concerning five points that still needed to have some further light thrown upon them. Among the suggestions which were added Valera called attention to the fact that considering the period of civilization of the world at which the conquest of South America was made, no other European conqueror would have been any more gentle in their dealings with those they conquered.

Three other suggestions worth considering were made here.

FIRST: that tho Spain might regret having destroyed any manuscripts whatsoever of the new world, whatever was destroyed was surely of little value compared with what Spain gave the country.

SECOND: that the conquest was really a civil war of emancipation among people of the same caste, language, and custom so that whatever praise they gave the early heroes of their land they really gave to Spain who bred these men and trained them to fight.

THIRD: that not a few verses of the South American literature were in honor of Spain and expressed patriotism for her. "These words which you put in the mouth of Bolívar leave us satisfied", says the critic:

"Ver con audaz mirada un nuevo mundo
De ignoto mar dormido en el regazo,
Y venciendo olas y enemigos vientos,
Y avasallando dudas e ignorancias,
Venir, tomarle, alzarle, y a otro mundo,
Asombrado decir: He aquí tu hermano!
Y a las puntas fiar de cuatro aceros
De sojuzgar naciones la ardua empresa,
Gentes postrando en número infinitas;
Y arrancar al error millones de almas

Y a la cruel barbarie; las sangrientas
 Aras despedazar, do el pecho humano
 En atroz agonía se agitaba;
 Quitar al sol el usurpado culto
 Y devolverle al Criador; triunfante
 La cruz alzar en los dorados templos:
 ¡Qué hazanas! qué grandeza! cuánta gloria!
 ¡Quién a envidiarlas no se inclina?"

In this same series of letters to Mera, Valera replies to an attack made by the "Revue Britannique" upon his South American work. Tho the comment of the "Revue" was in no way of a similar material nature with that of "La Época" yet the inference which the author draws from the criticism involves a question of no less importance than the former, when considered either from the point of view of Valera's purpose in making a literature known to his country or from the point of view of the result which he wished to accomplish in presenting the unity of these Spanish-American literatures. The "Revue" maintained that Valera flattered the Spanish Americans so that they would recognize themselves of Spanish origin and thru the charm of his praise would fraternize anew. "The said 'Revue' is right in that I seek this fraternity", said Valera, "but I do not flatter you nor charm you to obtain it and less even to withdraw you from the influence of France." The charge of flattery the author has refuted before. Each time he has mentioned it, he has refuted it in equally decisive manner. It seems moreover that the charge of flattery is a stumbling block which other critics have been equally prone to see.⁶⁹ Tho this is not an entirely surprising judgment for the casual observer of the critic, yet Valera's consistent denial of the charge should carry considerable weight with those who know him best, and who are most familiar with his work

and his general method.

The distinction which marks all his work is his art. His art grounded in the classic conception of a perfect diction and aimed at a goal of pleasure, yet enfolding a thot as delicate in its accuracy and logic as the laugh which flitted over it, such a laugh as Cervantes had and few have today, the benevolent laugh without bitterness. In his very last work Valera, in speaking of "Don Quijote", analyzes this laugh. "A secure indication of health and strength is to laugh with suavity and gentleness. It is the greatest and most mysterious enchantment of the book of 'Quijote'. One can not conceive of laughter without a due conformity with God, and without recognizing and declaring that all things that God has created are good, as God Himself declared when He created them."⁷⁰ Valera did not fail to recognize the truth, but without gall and without envy he bathes his truths with the radiant sunlight of his smile. This may be charm but who will call it flattery? But it must be acknowledged that the reply of Valera indicated that the "Revue" had implied that the purpose of his letters was not only to foster fraternity between Spanish speaking peoples, but still more to foster an anti-French attitude. Nor does he limit to a mere acknowledgement of this self-evident fact the discussion of his intention to foster this fraternity. The purpose is clear, and the realization thereof requires merely a tighter noose in the fraternal knot that binds the nineteen peoples. It seeks nothing more complicated than the mutual recognition that these peoples are from the same race, that they speak the same language and that the civilization of the younger peoples is due to the efforts of the motherland.

In view of his design to draw tighter the bond with the motherland, was it not bold for the author to declare that it was not his intention to alienate the influence of France? Valera recognized the seeming inconsistency of this statement and the obvious criticism by remarking: "I never intended to rob France of her influence over you by censuring you because you submit to that which it has of good. I recognize that Spain herself, unfortunately, is very inferior with respect to France. I believe France is one of the most intelligent nations of the world and I consider her at the head of peoples of Southern Europe who speak a language which comes from the Latin."⁷¹ Valera is particular however that the influence shall not interfere with the individuality of the country which seeks it. The special qualification of "Spanish" should always predominate however much the intellectual hegemony of France may be acknowledged. He proceeds moreover to say that this recognition is admitted by such leaders of both nations as Sr. Pelligrini of Argentina on the one hand and Castelar of Spain on the other. The significance of this fact lay in its admission of the leadership of France and in its acknowledgment that both parent and offspring were in accord in the developement of their intellectual taste, a fact which was of consequence to one engaged in establishing their literary unity. But the unity which existed as a result of a common interest in a foreign language was a unity of independence and was therefore the more liable to result in the very disdain which the "Cartas Americanas" were intended to eradicate. This intellectual vassalage had crept into the Spanish literary world at the time of the political decline of Spain and the fact that for two centuries all

of the Spanish speaking peoples had come to recognize their mutual weakness in this respect had caused among them a natural disdain for each other's productions. This situation was therefore a factor in making the writing of such a work as the "Cartas Americanas" both a difficult and useful task: difficult because it was to call to the attention of these peoples their literary relationship with those whom they preferred not to acknowledge; and useful because it was to point out a literary genius among them, a talent greater than a desire to imitate, which was the spirit responsible for their existence and for their progress. In his letter to Don Luis Alonso, September 30, 1839, Valera connects the usefulness of his work with a discussion of this difficulty and of the mission which he has taken upon himself to point out the existence of the genius "which is the inspiration of his race".⁷² While he reiterates in this discussion his reply to the "Revue Britannique" and reaffirms his admiration of the French intellect and his willingness to have his people imitate the good points of the French, yet at the same time he explains the existence of the guardian angel of the race⁷³ which has maintained in their literature a very great foundation of originality.⁷⁴ That the presence of this spirit has been overlooked and disregarded is evident from the severe criticisms which such critics as Clarín have seen fit to put upon Spanish literature.⁷⁵ For how can any one who hardly believes there is anything good in Madrid or Barcelona realize that there is any in Valparaiso, Bogotá, or Montevideo?⁷⁶ says Valera. But the "Cartas Americanas" are written to make these literatures known one to another.

But Valera had been establishing and defending the fact that in making known the Spanish literatures to one another, he would at the same time give evidence of their unity. In developing this plan he had confined the first two volumes of his criticisms almost entirely to Spanish American authors and the attacks of the critics who, with the exception of Clarín, had dealt with this literature almost exclusively. The reference to Clarín's attack was significant, however, in that it showed that, to accomplish this purpose, not only the literature of Spanish America needed to be made known to the world but the literature of Spain herself needed equally to be made known in order to facilitate a comparative study of these literatures. The succeeding letters therefore are given up to this purpose. The first series is written to the "Revista Ilustrada" of New York, and states the author's purpose to show the "actual intellectual movement of the motherland".⁷⁷ The second series is to "El Correo de España" in Buenos Aires, and has a similar purpose.⁷⁸ The third series is more inclusive, however, and makes more of a comparative study of these literatures. The end which was determined upon involved criticisms of the contemporary literature, as well as of books of learning and science, including not only those published in Spain but also those published in the various states and republics of Spanish America.⁸⁰ Valera expresses regret that Spain and Spanish America do not read more.⁸¹ He says that while a great deal is written in both places, the good books are practically unread and that when newspapers and magazines publish accounts of what is being produced in the literary world they know so little about it that they mention only cheap works and all who

read their reports whether native or foreign learn to disdain the Spanish literature. In view of this fact and also on the theory that the majority of those who do read prefer periodicals to books, Valera advocates the publication of the good literature of these nations in periodicals. May we not ask ourselves then if this theory is not responsible for the form the author uses in making these "Cartas Americanas", and particularly for his method of explaining his purpose thru polemics with the reviews?

In these later letters to the American reviews however, the author is not called upon to spend his time refuting charges upon the purpose of his undertaking but with this fully established and the advantage of its realization made clear, he is free to devote himself to the actual criticisms with which he intends to accomplish his end. In studying these criticisms it is striking to note the constant recurrence of the problems introduced in the polemic which the author was forced to enter upon in establishing his purpose and the value of it. Such problems as the place which imitation of the French had or should have in the Spanish American literature everywhere demanded consideration. "Each day I marvel more at the depth to which the spirit of the French literature has penetrated the Spanish American writers", says Valera, "and what is worse is that what they imitate is the gloomy, the pessimistic, and the hopeless" . . . and he gives as an example "Última Esperanza" by D. Emilio Rodríguez Mendoza. One of the factors which favors this habit is the practice which the South Americans make of studying in France. Many of them go over to Paris when young, and study and live in

the Latin Quarter until they become veritable Frenchmen, and it is no wonder their writings become tainted with French fads.⁸³

While the Spaniards also visit France, it is usually a social class quite different from the students who go from South America primarily to study. The purpose of Spaniards is not to study serious things, but merely to learn the season's latest fashion and take it back to their social circle.⁸⁴ This difference, added

to the fact that the South American would naturally be more susceptible to the French thot and customs because of the lack of precedents in his own country, accounts to some extent for the fact that the South American becomes easily more French than the Spanish from Spain despite the fact that both may have the same taste.⁸⁵ This contrast is most easily noted in the literary world in the drama, for while Spain may try to imitate or translate the French drama she usually accomplishes nothing more than an adaptation, while Spanish America may boast of clever translations as well as imitations of the French drama.⁸⁶

"I believe that Spanish American letters would gain very much if they could succeed in freeing themselves from the almost exclusive obsession and suggestion of French thot", says Valera,⁸⁷ and he adds that they had better study directly the ideas and writings of their own country or even of other countries, such as England, Germany, and Italy. One of the important reasons for this was that Gallicisms not only in word but in thot were becoming more frequent in their literature. Furthermore the literary fads which were so contagious in Paris were as certain to handicap their standard of art as they did that of others who went there. Even Paris herself often lost her artistic equilibrium in catering to some apparently new invention of thot or style.

Another practical suggestion which Valera makes in this connection comes as a deduction from Sr. Polar's "Filosofía ligera", to wit, that "the Spanish American books which would be most sought by the world would be those which treated of the history and customs of their own countries. "Even novels, written in America, would be a thousand times more interesting if the authors would forget Paris, and the Parisien novelists, and would paint with faithfulness and without exotic artifice what the common people among his countrymen think and feel and say."⁸⁸

The suggestion was no doubt a good one to come from a patriot who was encouraging his people to recognize the value of their own genius and resources, and to a people who were so prone to seek recognition for the new and unusual that they apparently wished to claim they "were sprung from spontaneous generation",⁸⁹ rather than recognize Spanish ancestors. In other words they almost claimed to be like Topsy, who "never did have no father and mother, but jes' grew". But Valera would know what Americanism is. If it is the same as Europeanism, then it is the pride of a superior civilization,⁹⁰ he argues. With America this pride has merely been transferred to the new world, says Valera. And he maintains therefore that America must recognize this and that while she claims the future is hers, she must do so, recognizing that Europe is her mother and that she herself must be considered a continuation of the civilization and arts⁹¹ of the motherland. "A thousand times have I said it", says the critic, "whatever is written in Buenos Aires, in Bogotá, in Lima, or in Caracas, must continue to be Spanish literature, altho the countries in which it is written no longer belong to the Spanish state."⁹²

PART TWO

Literature of Argentina According to the "Cartas Americanas"

In speaking of the great celebration given at the death of Olegario Andrade and in acknowledging the wonderful tributes that had been paid to the poet, Valera asserts, "I desire and ought notwithstanding to disregard all this in giving my opinion. I ought to give my opinion as if I knew nothing of this and not yield to the influence of those who perhaps thru patriotism or thru the contagious overexcitement of a moment put unmeasured hyperbole in their praise".⁹³ Despite his preference for being in accord with the common opinion he declares that his desire for sincerity surpasses this consideration. "The critical little devil which torments me, and by which I do not know whether I am obsessed or possessed, does not consent that when I write I say what I want to say, but what he wants me to say."⁹⁴

In considering the author's criticism of Argentinian literature we are dealing with the literature of a vast country which Valera prophesied would be in the twentieth century a power containing twenty millions of inhabitants and with an income of over \$200,000,000 in yearly taxes, as strong and rich, he said to Sr. don Daniel Granada in May 1889,⁹⁵ as North America was at that time. Despite the great influx of foreigners other than Spanish which have been pouring into its territory, its language remains primarily Castilian, tho a Castilian provincialized or Americanized. The most notable evidence of a force other than Castilian in this language may be traced to the two tongues which were spoken in that territory at the time of the conquest, namely,

the Guaraní and the Quichua. Many of the terms of this language had been adopted however, by the early Spanish conquerors before the emancipation, and are therefore, says Valera, Castilian with an etymologic origin from these Indian dialects.⁹⁵ Much of this vocabulary should therefore be in the Castilian dictionary which is not a dictionary only for words of Castile but for such as are employed in every cultured country where Castilian is spoken. Valera therefore maintains here, as he does thruout the "Cartas Americanas", that the Castilian language will prevail in Argentina (or in Spanish America) as surely as it has in Spain despite outside influences. While the progress of the country for the five years previous to 1888, says the critic, had given material evidence of its Hispanism still nothing proved so clearly how much the Argentine personality (Spanish in origin) had taken root in that land "as the intellectual movement, each day more pure, rich, and fecund, in all the provinces of the republic and in Buenos Aires especially".⁹⁶ For evidence of this movement Valera accepts the following statement of Daireaux, who praises "the works of General Mitre and Doctor V. F. Lopez, who treat the history of the independence of South America; those of other authors such as Doctors Vicenti Quesada, and Navarro Viola y Trelles, who publish documents on the origins of social life; those of the statesmen and economists Agote, Latzina, Coni y Navarro; those of the anthropologists, ethnographers, and explorers Moreno, Ceballos, Lista, and Fontana; and those of the jurisconsults Alcorta, Montes de Oca, Tejedor, Obarrio, Segovia, and Carlos Calvo especially, whose treatise on international law, public and private (a résumé of the progress of this obscure science, in the

modern epoch), figures among the master works of its class, and is consulted by all the chancellries and by all the peoples".⁹⁷ As to theatres, Valera and Daireaux agree that there are none, and they recognize very few novels. Valera knows only "Amalia" of Mármol, but Daireaux cites "Pablo o el hijo de las Pampas", of doña Eduarda García, and the novels of Eduardo Gutiérrez such as "Juan Moreira" and "El tigre de Quequen" whose crimes and horrors he compares with those of Eugène Sue, says Valera.⁹⁸

Where pure Spanish talent is shown most in Argentina or in South America is in lyric and narrative poetry, says Valera, and he gives two main reasons. In the first place, he asserts that this is an age in which poetry flourishes in all the regions of the earth, as never before. Secondly, either the Spanish poetic language is more worked and formed, or the Spanish prosody is so distinct from the French that the Spanish poet if he writes Castilian does not imitate the French in form, tho he may wish to do so.⁹⁸

Thus poetry is an intimate expression of sentiment peculiar to a race. It is divided in Argentina, as everywhere, into two classes, the popular or rustic, and the learned or classic. The popular poets of Argentina were called payadores and were the troubadours of the pampas. They could be traced back to the gauchos in the pampas, who sang to the music of their guitars faithful portrayals of the nomad life which they knew. Those of this class whom Valera mentions are Estanislao del Campo, José Hernández, and Ascasubi, (all mixed Indian and Spanish). Santos Vega he does not know, but calls attention to the fame which this payador has attained thru a legend by Obligado.

In discussing the learned poetry, Valera declares that especially what was lyric was not influenced by the French, either in Spain or in the colonies during the classic period. When romanticism came in however, French influence came to be felt in greater or less degree in both places. The only Argentine poet who resisted the influence was José Mármol, who because of his hatred for the tyrant Rosas, expressed so vehement a sentiment against this impostor as to stamp his works with originality and maintain a native individuality, totally oblivious to the influence of Romanticism.

It will be recalled that Mármol's quatrains became invectives of tremendous influence in their attack against the dictator. The first of them, written on the walls of the prison, had declared that the "barbarian" could never put shackles on his mind, and the sincerity, variety, and intensity of the succeeding poems depicted the cruelty of the bloodthirsty demon with such vividness that the author came to be considered the foremost wielder of political invective in this struggle of the Montevidean party against Rosas.⁹⁹ Beside his quatrains Mármol's novel "Amalia" was of importance in calling to attention and emphasizing the rash policies of the wicked ruler. The book was written in the manner of a novel of Walter Scott, but was full of episodes which branded the reign of this man and his party; and set forth in detail their crimes and the moral degradation of Buenos Aires under their rule.¹⁰⁰

The individuality which Mármol maintained gave to his works a fascination which, says Menéndez y Pelayo, makes one drop the book reluctantly. To Valera (who speaks of Mármol as a lyric poet) the value of his work rested in the "robust intonation" and "character-

istic stamp" which his energetic patriotism imprinted on his work "despite incorrections and carelessness".

But this concentration upon a patriotic sentiment, while it set a definite stamp upon the works of Mármol and proved to be their safeguard against French romanticism, unfortunately could not be expected to exercise as beneficent an influence upon all of the Argentinian poets; nor could it even be counted upon as an assured factor in some of them. Probably the poet of greatest prominence, who illustrated the lack of patriotic literary spirit for the Republic, was Estéban Echeverría. Tho Valera does not have occasion to review the works of this author, in various places in the "Cartas Americanas" he attacks his literary theories. In the attitude which he takes he is supported by Oyuela, who says that Echeverría deviates so far from his racial characteristics that he can not even be considered American, since to be that is to be by nature filled with Spanish sentiment. "If Echevarria wanted to renounce this instinctive characteristic and these natural affinities, says Oyuela, "he ought to be logical and renounce also the language which is their necessary consequence, proposing that we speak in French or Quichua."¹⁰¹ Valera asserts however that Oyuela is unduly worried over the possibility of the formation of a new dialect, disengaged from the Castilian. History shows us that from languages already developed and fixed only formless jargons can be developed as offshoots. With the testimony of Rafael Obligado as a backing, Valera makes the statement that "in La Plata no new jargon will be spoken, neither French, nor Quichua, but Castilian pure and simple."¹⁰²

Altho Oyuela and Obligado were agreed upon this point, their general differences of opinion were well known. Not only had each author stood boldly for his literary theories, but they had engaged in a *Justa Literaria* which had interested the literary world. It was a debate of classicism against romanticism. Obligado had written a challenge in tercets to Oyuela asking that he contend with him upon the justification of their respective literary principles, and the challenge had been accepted. Obligado was anxious for an unattainable Argentine originality, disdained Homer and Pindar, abominated the classic imitation, preferred the Andes to Parnassus and the waves of La Plata to those of the Pactolus, and asked that the Argentine poet seek inspiration in the pampas among the old wandering "payadores" like Santos Vega.¹⁰³ Oyuela, on the other hand, while he proclaimed aloud his love for the fatherland and longed to get his inspiration from it, maintained nevertheless that there was a chain of culture and art which started from Greece and ran thru Italy and Spain and which he desired to prolong into Argentina, adding to its beauties there.¹⁰⁴ The poets contended for some time, each one defending his own theories and reproaching the other for what he believed to be his shortcomings. Finally they agreed to submit their productions to the beloved Guido y Spano for a verdict. The judge replied discreetly: "The guitar is worth as much as the lyre. For a new world, new songs."¹⁰⁵ But form must be considered. He advised Oyuela to stop reading Homer and to spend a few hours with the payadores Aniceto el Gallo and Martín Fierro, while Obligado should go to Athens and Greece.¹⁰⁶ "Nevertheless", says Valera, Oyuela was recognized as conqueror

and Obligado in recognition of this dedication and sent to him a poetic composition "La Flor del Seibo", whose subject, like the scenes which it paints, is true Argentine but whose form for the glory of Obligado shows his complete defeat.¹⁰⁷ In reply Oyuela complimented his adversary on possessing more true American savour than any other, and advised that they make war on their common enemy, that literary pest, Gallic imitation.

That the outcome was satisfactory to Valera is shown from his description of it and from the tribute which he pays to the perfection of the works of Oyuela. For his mastery, his sobriety, his purity of idiom, and his perfection of form, Valera says that he surpasses all other Argentine poets. Not only was Oyuela an excellent poet by nature but he knew thoroly the "Greek, Latin, Italian, and Spanish classics, a fact which no doubt had much to do with perfecting his art". The soundest and most elevated philosophy, the noblest conception of art, the purest aspirations of the spirit, are expressed in the verses of Oyuela with elegant and brilliant simplicity, said Valera. His ode to his favorite classic, Fray Luis de Leon, in which he shows his idea of poetry and the mission of a poet "is perfect in its beauty", says Valera, "and especially in its final verses". While the rest of the poet's works receive favorable comment from the critic, he protests that he has not time to review them in these letters, and delays only long enough to recommend particularly "La vuelta al Campo", "El Titan", "Eros" and "Al Arte", and to commend the care and beauty of the poet's translations, particularly those from Leopardi.¹⁰⁸

After Oyuela it will be interesting to consider what fur-

ther the poet says of his friend Obligado whose relationships with the former we have already considered.

In quoting Obligado, Valera was again referring to one of the Argentine poets whom he respected particularly for his Hispanism. The beautifully bound copy of the poet's works which Valera had received was so elegant as to make him at first sight envious and at the same time suspicious lest the value of the book might be in the binding which was such a model of good taste. After reading the verses, however, he pronounced them worthy of being so well printed and so richly adorned.¹⁰⁹ Further than this he supported his testimony by expressing a purpose to make these verses and their author known to those Spaniards to whom he was still unknown.

He carried out this plan in his letter of the 26th of March, 1888. Therein he speaks of the satisfaction of Spain in the literary glory of Spanish America. It is a proof of the vital fecundity of Spain, says Valera. Moreover, he considers these works of Obligado so Spanish that he advocates that certain of his vocabulary dealing with Argentine objects be added to the Castilian dictionary. Spain is as pleased to recognize from its colonies such beautiful poetry as that of Obligado, says Valera, as Greece was to recognize the poetry of her colonies which were known to preserve so well the unity of language and culture. He asserts, moreover, that the prosperity of Spanish America will depend upon the preservation of this intellectual and cultural unity. Even the disappearance of our language would be a sorrow to Spain, says Valera at this point, for it would seem to imply that our race was inferior in that it could be absorbed by others

instead of absorbing them. This would take away our hope of collective immortality.¹¹⁰

While some inhabitants of old Spain may criticize the enthusiastic patriotism of Obligado as affectation, because of their conception of the cosmopolitan nature of this land so filled with foreigners, Valera joins Oyuela in a justification of it. "The half million Italians and one hundred and fifty thousand French and the rest of the foreigners who have come to increase their riches, industry, and commerce, will have to be hispanized or argentinized, and books such as yours corroborate my theory,"¹¹¹ says Valera. He thereby upholds a patriotism which is Spanish and Argentine, and proceeds to join Oyuela in his praise of Obligado for this sort of patriotism, as well as for his pure Castilian language, devoid of the influence of French, Italian, English, or German. The only influence which he recognized from outside Argentina was that of Andalusia, whose literature Obligado was fond of and had read widely. Obligado's recognition of the value of patriotism rather than cosmopolitanism was therefore a trait to secure for him the high esteem of his critics, for, said Oyuela, "A country without a stamp of individuality is like a writer without style, it is nothing. Cosmopolitanism has never engendered, nor will it ever engender, anything fecund in politics or in literature."¹¹²

Because he renounced cosmopolitanism in his poetry and maintained the purely Spanish spirit, Valera credits Obligado with recognizing true art, which is a constant quality regardless of location or period. In this he contrasts him with Echeverría, and the comparison is particularly happy,¹¹³ because of certain

eulogistic verses of Obligado upon Echeverría. Valera wishes to show that while classic in that element of his theory which advocated the importance to Argentine literature of making use of localized or nationalized settings, Echeverría eventually lost effectiveness thru his development of a theory of naturalism bordering on the French school. But Obligado possessed the purity which Echeverría lacked. While the former reflected that which he observed as perfect as it was in the original, the latter presented it to his reader in a way that distorted it from its original purity thru having been in contact with the mind of the author. What had heretofore been left to Argentine geographies and histories, Valera now finds expressed in the songs of a poet. Those verses moreover in which Obligado had eulogized the art of Echeverría were, said Valera, more applicable to their author than to his subject:¹¹⁴

"Todo tiene un acento
En su estrofa divina,
Pues no hay soplo, latido, movimiento,
Que no traiga á sus versos el aliento
De la tierra argentina."

Valera maintains, moreover, that the originality of Obligado prevails in his works even despite any possible influence of Spanish poets whom he read devotedly. If there be any evidence of the influence of these authors it is so vague, says our critic, that we can not be certain that it is not an illusion.¹¹⁴ The comparisons which could be traced were found in certain descriptive pieces, where one feels vague reminiscences of the style of Núñez de Arce and Velarde, while in various compositions on love one sees an equally vague resemblance to Becquer. In these very works, however, the contrast was as evident as the comparison.

While Obligado was optimistic, with hope in the progress of his country and faith in its greatness, Becquer was pessimistic, without hope, and with faith in nothing but sadness itself. When shadows of melancholy crossed the sunlit paths of Obligado the darkness was always softened by the radiance of joy about it. Valera gave as an example of this the last stanza of "El hogar vacío":¹¹⁵

"Así mi lira llorara tu ausencia.
 Tu cándida existencia
 Cual blanca nube se elevó del suelo
 Y en lo infinito desplegó sus galas...
 Los que nacen con alas,
 ¡Cuán pronto suben de la tierra al cielo!"

But where you seem to resemble Becquer most in form, says Valera, you are farthest from him at heart, for you are able not only to represent "the glory of a 'passing love' but you show the joy and sweet contentment of the love which lives and remains in the soul forever making it happy".¹¹⁶

But in addition to being called by Valera "an excellent lyric poet", Obligado is characterized as "a good narrative poet".¹¹⁷ The latter qualification is based upon the poet's rendering of the legend of Santos Vega. The meter in which the legend is written is compared to that used by Núñez de Arce and Velarde, in descriptions and in narrations. The critic takes satisfaction in the evident truth and precision of the paintings of the pampa and its primitive inhabitants in this poem and acknowledges his enjoyment of the charm of the foreign and new which it presented. The poem is symbolic in its presentation of the triumph of the New over the Old and despite the sincerity of the poet's lamentations over the loss of the older poetry which the modern spirit

conquered, Valera asserts that the presentation which Obligado himself gave to the legend was proof enough of the superiority of the poetry which had triumphed. "It is just that you give to Santos Vega the praises he merits", says Valera, "tho in doing so, you write a legend so beautiful that if he had not already died of grief at his defeat in the legendary musical duel, he would die of envy at the beauty of your poem."

With such praises Valera closes, calling to attention the youth of the poet and expressing the hope that he would continue writing both lyric poetry and legends of the sort of "Santos Vega".¹¹⁸

The next poet which Valera discussed at length was Olegario Andrade, whom he considered in response to a request of Sr. García Mérou. What he calls attention to first here, as with Obligado and most of the others whom we find in his "Cartas", is the elegance of the edition. Whether he does this in order to suggest to Spain that she has room for improvement in this particular business, or merely to compliment the South American taste in printing, and whether in either case it is always the sincere expression of his own estimate, in this last instance at least he has reason to make special mention of this art. Nothing had been spared to make these volumes an expression of the finest taste and skill the Argentine people possessed. The works were the most popular expression of Argentine feeling and thot, and as a tribute to the poet the government had had these works printed at the expense of the National Treasury.

Despite this evidence of the esteem in which the Argentines hold Andrade, Valera expresses his purpose to give an unbiased

estimate of his works. Compared with Obligado, Andrade is superior in his ability to move the nation for whom he sings, says Valera, but less elegant and correct in his verses. While Obligado received more praise as a poet therefore, Andrade receives more appreciation for his thot, since it reaches greater heights. "Andrade, moved at times by the very subject which he treats and by its elevated inspiration, is more than a national poet. He becomes one of those few poets who succeed in representing worthily the longings and aspirations of all mankind, arousing in them the love of theories, the faith in undertakings which are most dear, and sublime hope that soon they shall be realized."

Andrade is thus something of a seer and Valera says that it is difficult to judge him properly without believing in his theories and prophesies. The characterization which he makes of the author is that he is a universal and didactic poet who for his enthusiasm is to be classed in that category of poets in which Schiller, Manzoni, Quintana, and Victor Hugo are preeminent.

After characterizing Andrade as didactic, however, Valera admits that his "little devil" queries: What does poetry teach or what can any one teach in verse that is not taught better in text books? Tho such poets as Dante, Goethe, or Leopardi were veritable archives of learning Valera declares that he doubts the didactic virtue of their poetry and must therefore be infinitely more skeptical about a poet whose knowledge was as limited as that of Andrade. Judging from the training and knowledge of the poet then, he could not be considered a didactic poet, and it was only when the test of enthusiasm and good taste

was used as a standard that the term didactic could be applied to his poetry. When applying the test to the work of Andrade, moreover, only the former could be considered, for on the matter of good taste there were objections, said Valera.

Where Andrade was didactic was in the expression from his soul of "elevated aspirations, of the ideal which was to be realized in the future, of the plans, doctrines, and hopes which were in the collective mind of a people or of all humanity".¹²⁰ For his manifestation of such enthusiasm, deep feeling, and powerful imagination, said Valera, he could be classed as a great didactic poet.

But an important and lofty poetry of this sort needed careful attention, reflection, and exquisite art to give it effectiveness comparable to the glory of the mission it carried. Valera maintained moreover, that art was more important than that and gave the success of Moratín's works as an example. Yet even with this theory a poet could not substitute ornaments of speech and the fires of passion for that because no art could dissimulate the lack of conviction. Were such an attempt made the appearance of falsity which resulted was such as could be found in the works of Victor Hugo, and was consequently not lacking in Andrade, who took Hugo for an idol and a model.

Hugo, said Valera, had much art but for a Spaniard to try to imitate this French art was disastrous to his production because the Spanish wrote from inspiration and could not secure thru form, as the French did, an interpretation suited to the depth of his sentiment. Thus Andrade who strove for this imitation failed to develop the art which would have been so funda-

mental an agent in making famous the verses so worthy for the wealth of their inspiration. In this connection, Valera even went so far as to assert that the poet, who did not labor over these philosophical and political verses exposed himself to the risk of having his verses seem to be rhymed editorials or extracts from text books and put into couplets.

That Andrade did not have the same standard for didactic poetry as Valera however, was evident from his exaltation of it in his poem to Victor Hugo. In this poem Andrade explains what he considers the mission of a poet to be: to trace a path of light for humanity when it is lost in the shadows, and to teach man the road he should follow. As examples of poets who have recognized this mission, Valera cites Isaiah, Aeschylus, Juvenal, and Dante as precursors of the divine Hugo, who is a marvelous synthesis of all of these and whose mission is higher than that of any of these because he comes to renew the human race.

"There are no notes which do not vibrate on your lyre,
Nor spaces which do not open themselves to your genius,
You sing for the future and for those who suffer,
Who, slaves of power and deceit,
Feel opened to their tearfilled eyes
The blue gates of hope."122

With France represented as the "height where nests human genius", Andrade explains his conception of progress and liberty. He speaks first of the lofty destiny of France but dedicates the last part of the poem to the future of the human race in the land that Columbus discovered. In this "new theater which God destines for the drama of the future, free races admire thee, Orpheus, who descendedst in search of thy lost beloved, sacred democracy . . . And across the seas, O setting star, . . . the

sons of the dawn salute thee."¹²³

Since Valera esteemed these last verses of the poem to Hugo among the poet's "most poetic enthusiasms and beliefs", it is safe to infer that they would enjoy the tribute he paid to this composition when he said it contained "beauties of first rank, despite its very great praises to the French poet and despite other defects".¹²⁴ The only defect of which Valera makes special mention, outside of this extravagant praise for Hugo with its ornamental expressions, is the use of assonance. "Its verses are filled to overflowing with assonances which make them out of tune and ugly".¹²⁵ In the tenth century Valera points out that this was tolerated but since then Castilian poets have come to know better.

But this "composition was ill paid and in my judgment was also wasted",¹²⁶ says Valera, and his assertion is based upon Hugo's brief and unappreciative response to Andrade in recognition of this tribute which the Argentine poet had paid to him. After having been assigned the position of a god, Hugo replied with only "three empty and cold phrases in vile prose",¹²⁷ said Valera. The explanation of this apparent discourtesy Valera lays to one of two causes. Either Hugo could not read Castilian well enough to understand what Andrade had written, or he resented being called "old and a setting star"¹²⁸ which was the interpretation which could be taken from certain lines of the poem intended to convey deepest respect.

The value of this poem to Hugo is not limited to its intrinsic worth. It was one of a didactic group written on the theory that the poet had a mission to preach to the multitude,

says Coester, and since "they were written within a space of five years when the poet was about forty years old, they display a certain unity of conception, despite their diversity of title, which gives them additional force".¹²⁹ This unity is notable in the last verses of the poem to "Victor Hugo", prophesying the future of the human race in America, and in the "Atlántida" which is dedicated to this thot.

The "Atlántida" is the swan's song wherein the author expresses his patriotic and racial sentiments with greatest elegance and courage, says Valera. "The ideas and feelings which it contained were the most popular on the banks of La Plata."¹³⁰ The critic implies directly, however, that this popularity does not hinder these verses from being unpopular with Spaniards. While he may refuse to contradict their theories yet he admits that the verses contain ideas which grieve him.

The first objection which he expresses is the terminology of the Americans as "Latin race". Valera declares that the term is erroneous, and defends his statement by various arguments which make his position sound. For the Spanish Americans to adopt the name "Latin", says the critic, is the same as for a son who has left home and become rich to denounce the name of his father for that of an old master whom his father had served. Spanish Americans are as Spanish as Greek colonies were Greek, he maintains. If any other term than Spanish is to be used, he argues further that Iberian is the proper term. History shows this term to be exact and it is applicable to the three languages, Castilian, Portuguese, and Catalan.

But ^{the} "Atlántida" declares that Spanish America is to surpass Spain, and that whatever progress humanity is yet to make will be accomplished by them. In reply Valera asserts that while Andrade may be right, he himself would prefer that the colonies and Spain equal each other in civilization rather than that one surpass the other, especially if strife within the race is to be involved in order that the one may surpass the other. Whichever may surpass, however, the critic declares the persistence of Hispanism, and quotes the Duke of Frías, "Spanish you will be, not Americans".¹³¹ But even if South America surpass Spain as the "Atlántida" declares she will, why, says Valera, should the poet consider Spain as dead or ruined in order to accomplish this end?

"Here is going to be realized what was not possible among the inert rubbish of the old world; the most beautiful vision of visions: to the colossal hymn of the deserts, the eternal communion of the nations."

"I suppose", says Valera, "that the poet intends to say, tho frankly he says it badly, that listening to the colossal hymn of the deserts, that is to say, in the midst of the magnificent, exuberant, and beautiful nature of that new and immense continent, the Latin race will realize finally the eternal communion of the nations, . . .".¹³²

Valera agrees that no objection should be made to this general thot, but the reference to Spain as an "inert rubbish heap"¹³³ receives his bitter satire. He plays sarcastically upon the term "Latin" in his criticism and confesses an objection that the "Latins" of the ^{one} shore thus depreciate the "Latins" of the other shore, even declaring that the ancient world in which the latter

have been born and live is inert rubbish. Of course, continues Valera satirically, "it is possible that in the remote future the South Americans instead of coming to study at Paris, Rome, Madrid, or Seville, will visit the ruins of Spain, as they go now to Rome or Babylon. Yet even tho this may come true and Spain may be an "inert rubbish heap", the Spanish Americans can not be converted into Latins".¹³⁴

Valera says, however, that none of this discussion destroys the merit of the verses of Andrade and he proceeds to present a study of the qualities of the poem which will classify it as didactic. Upon first consideration the critic feels that it is inconsistent to classify material so carelessly put together as "didactic" poetry. He therefore analyzes this class of poetry and discovers in the "Atlántida" certain kinds of material and certain features of style which characterize it as "didactic", despite various careless traits which may prevent its becoming a model of perfection in its class.

With respect to material, the poet met the requirements, pointing out the path of progress for the human race, speaking of God, and revealing the mysteries of the universe and of history. These theories, or this enthusiasm, moreover, were not built upon the poet's individual ideas or discoveries of divine secrets in accordance with the ancient conception of "didactic" poetry, but were an expression of the aspirations and logic of the crowd. In place of the old conception of originality or novelty as a test for "didactic" poetry there had developed a recognition of the art of presentation. As an example of the importance of this discovery, Valera gives Christ's "Sermon on the Mount", in which,

according to a Jewish authority, not a single new thot was expressed and the composition which resulted from the ingenious arrangement of the ancient maxims had proved to be a moral work which had reformed the world.

The secret of the success was in the conception of the word harmony, and thus Andrade tho possessing little knowledge knew how to harmonize. He knew furthermore how to avoid at least one of the two dangers which confront didactic poets of this class, namely, "that of showing false and emphatic sentiment which in place of arousing to enthusiasm moves to laughter". Unfortunately Valera could not credit him with knowing how to avoid the other abyss which was open to these poets, namely, "that of aspiring innocently to be very didactic and hence falling into the prosaic."¹³⁵

"Thus the verses of Andrade are full of fire and of life, and over and above all the expression of a vigorous thot put to the service of his century, and the song on the bronze cords of his lyre is something more than an art: it is a moral, a priesthood, an apostolate."¹³⁶ "The song 'Atlántida' tho embellished with philosophic flights", says Valera, "is in some respects a compendium of the history of the Latin peoples". The poet records first the rise and fall of Rome and then the rise and fall of Spain. In his tribute to Spain he mentions her great deeds in the life of mankind, and laments her fall, which he attributed to the disastrous influence of the papacy over that land. After Spain which

" . . . sleeps huddled
At the foot of the altars,
Warming her shivering spirit
At the infernal bonfire of Torquemada",¹³⁷

France picks up the sceptre of the Latins, produces a Voltaire, and gives the world her magnificent revolution, a bonfire of contrary effect to that of the inquisitional bonfire. But France falls at Sedan, and America's turn arrives. At this place in the poem Valera remarks that Andrade leaves Spain still living and quotes a passage which says that tho Spain sleeps she will eventually awaken. America advances and prepares to play the principal role: "To celebrate the marriage of the future in her fields of eternal Spring", and to give "range and light in distant zones to the restless genius of the old race, destroyer of thrones and crowns." America is now ready to undertake and perform marvelous feats; and the poet even dreams of a new religion.

In the following verses Andrade presents in brilliant traits and splendid colors the salient features of the various republics of South America. Judging from these descriptions, Valera decides that Andrade is an inspired and original poet despite his carelessness and other faults. But he is at his best when he lays aside his didactic serenity and becomes purely lyric, allowing himself to be carried away by the passion that inspires him. The poet's passion may seem somewhat unreasonable, but that does not matter so long as the passion is not personal but collective and representative of the feelings of many persons of whom the poet becomes the mere echo. For this sentiment then Valera puts the Americanism of Andrade before his patriotism.

But while the position of the poet is sound when he sets forth the interest shown by the republics, first for their own individual progress, and then for a certain joint interest, there is no justification for the exaggerated Americanism which conceives

an antagonism between Europe and America. "Civilized America is not, nor can it be, anything but the prolongation, the complement, a part of the triumph of European and Christian civilization over wild nature, not yet tamed by man: and over barbarous and savage races which upon contact with the Europeans, either are mingled with them and are regenerated and elevated, or perish and disappear."¹³⁹

When Andrade expresses invective against the kingdoms of Europe on the grounds of their tyranny, Valera calls to attention the tyranny of the rule of Rosas who was far more cruel than any monarch of Europe had been in a hundred years. Valera satirically continues that he admires the pride of this poet who prefers unhappiness at home to happiness which foreigners might bring from without. "His poem, 'La Libertad y la América' is at the same time a diatribe against us", says Valera, "a triumphant hymn to the New World, and a challenge to Europeans".¹⁴⁰ Yet the critic says that to him it is the most pleasing composition of Andrade's, and adds that while it resembles Zorilla in richness and fluidity, it resembles Hugo in the "crudeness and fury" with which it praises its own and depreciates the Spaniards.

In the glorious ideals which the poem attributes to its country, Valera remarks upon the flattery to the Argentines expressed in bewitching lyricism and pomp. As for the extravagances which he finds therein either in thought or in form, he attributes three-fourths of them to the poet's imitation of Hugo. Ford expresses something of this same criticism: "It is pertinent also to bear in mind, that Andrade had a frenzied admiration for Victor Hugo . . . ; and his own outbursts of bombastic declamation and his

rhetorical flamboyancy may be due to unwise imitation of some of the less admirable of Hugo's characteristics."¹⁴¹

"While Latin America affords the theme for his 'Atlántida', it is the ultimate good of the human race as a whole that exercises his poetic fancy in his other great poem, the 'Prometeo'."¹⁴² It is interesting to note in our study of this poem that in his explanatory note to the poem Andrade says that the canto was not written to be published, and that he consented to print it only on the insistence of friends "que tienen derecho a exigir del autor sacrificios de mayor magnitud".¹⁴³

Valera opens his discussion of "Prometeo" by saying that it is the most important of Andrade's poetical works. He then discusses the popularity of the original "Prometeo" and the variations in the imitations of it. The analysis and criticism of the poem follow, and in conclusion he declares, as he had with "La Libertad y la América", that the poem would have been improved if Andrade had "forgotten or neglected Hugo".

This poem is a "prodigy of poetry" for us and for all times, says Valera. He then mentions how greatly the tragedies of Aeschylus have been admired by all ages even up to the present, which is especially fond of "Prometeo", even tho it is but the second part of the trilogy, with most of the first and third parts lost. As a result of the interest which it had created, most famous thinkers and writers of every class had handled the poem in some way, commenting on it, explaining it, completing it, or imitating it. One of the chief points of interest which always arose in the treatment of the poem was whether it would receive a blasphemous or religious interpretation. While a suspicion or

accusation against the impiety of Aeschylus had arisen even before he died, the majority of critics and commentators consider him extremely pious. "If the poet Aeschylus sinned anywhere", says Valera, "it was in divulging mysterious doctrines which were transmitted only to those initiated into the mysteries and which were guarded in the bosom of priestly colleges".¹⁴⁴ This criticism calls to attention the fact that Aeschylus himself had adapted the fable, for Hesiod had treated it first.

The underlying theme was that by many to be the basis of the religion of the Ages. The philanthropic titan Prometheus represents man or Adam, striving to equal God thru his creation of "man" and securing life for it from the fires of life upon the holy mountain. The punishment of God, who decrees that the passions of man (in the form of the vulture forever pecking at his entrails) shall torment man forever, is only relieved thru the intervention of his son Hercules, who kills the passions (or the vulture) and now that man's passions are no more he succeeds in reconciling God to him; and as Hesiod explains "thus was diffused with greater glory on the earth the virtue of his well beloved son".¹⁴⁵

In the poem of Andrade says Valera, this confusion of the ages between the impious and the pious, persists. The first point of serious confusion is whether the one to whom Prometheus speaks insults or threats is to be considered as Jupiter, or God Himself.¹⁴⁶ The blasphemy of the lines referred to is found in the Titan's defiance of this "weak" God to whom he boasts that the effect of punishment is nil since it has not hindered him from continuing in his defiance of God.

The next point of obscurity which Valera mentions in the fabulous argument of the tragedy is common to both Aeschylus and Andrade. It is the portrayal of the indecision of the human mind, the doubts and contradictions which give evidence of being the same in the nineteenth century as those of five or six centuries before Christ. Then as now, says Valera, men were unsatisfied with the present; at one time they maintained that the Golden Age was past, at another that humanity was bestial and ferocious in the past and had been elevating itself little by little; finally there developed a belief that despite the first fall of man there was a final redemption for him and after this redemption a period of progress. There is vaguely some of all of this in Aeschylus and in Andrade, said the critic.

Valera then indicates that Andrade actually "hallucinates us for a moment in regard to his Christianity", at the point where Prometheus in his agony sees the Cross of Christ on Golgotha.

But this expression of Christian sentiment is brief and in the following verses it is pointed out that in the poet's opinion Christ is better than Prometheus, not because he is God, but because he is less God and more man than the titan. His death represents the death of the bit of God in him and Prometheus (representing dogmatic thought beset with passion) dies too, because all gods must die so that the spirit of man may rule. What survives is a new group of Prometheus destined for human progress, which is to say a group of modern thinkers in whom the spirit of man furnishes the inspiration, since according to Andrade the Spirit of God is dead. These new thinkers will not suffer as did the old ones such as Christ, Socrates, etc., since

says Valera satirically, they are exempt from the possibility of committing follies or absurdities.

In this drama of the future the poets will play a brilliant role and will be the birds who will sing the coming of the mental and social aurora, and who will dry up with their wings the blood and perspiration of the anxious or persecuted thinkers, if indeed they be anxious, and if any one persecute them.

"For me", says Valera, who now leaves off analyzing and proceeds to criticize, "it is very evident that in all this poem of Andrade there is portentous courage and great flight of inspiration."¹⁴⁷ What is lacking, he continues, is study in preparation for writing the poem and study in the writing of it. He then points out certain objections to the style and the thought of the poem, which particularly disturb him, namely, the portraying of Christ as a planet ("and I prefer he should have been a star or a sun", says Valera), the "promethean" race which shocks him, and the fact that Prometheus saw the silhouette of the Cross instead of the Cross itself. Perhaps the chief weakness which Valera finds with "Prometeo" is the presentation of abstractions instead of real beings. Prometheus, in his symbolic representation of human thought, becomes an abstraction rather than a reality as he was in the poem of Aeschylus. And if Jupiter represents fanaticism, superstition, the idea of God or a god in whom the poet does not believe, he is also an abstraction. The effect of this upon the poem is such as must necessarily come from putting one abstraction against another: the dramatic or epic element disappears.

Since these criticisms have been upon the thought of the

poem, Valera now considers for a moment the style of the work, and is pleased to find it truly lyric.

A propos of Andrade's innovations in handling his subject, even as a lyric, Valera asks why Andrade figured the titan, who represented human thot, in a quarrel with Jupiter and in this situation even accompanied by other titans who represented cosmic forces over which Jupiter supposedly had absolute sway. In this connection also Valera expresses an objection to the author's representation of the titans' scaling Olympus on horseback "as gauchos galloping over the pampas".¹⁴⁸

In conclusion, and despite all the faults he has pointed out, Valera expresses the opinion that Andrade is one of the most illustrious poets of South America and one "who would have been worth more than Olmedo or Bello and as much as Quintana if he had studied more the humanities and had read better and more widely".¹⁴⁹ If he had written more upon the beauty of American nature and less on evolution and progress and with less effort to imitate Hugo, again he would have made a more notable success, said Valera, and he supported his criticism with the statement that Andrade felt, saw, and understood with deep poetic feeling the nature which surrounded him. With these criticisms of Valera in mind, it is interesting to note the similarity of the judgment of Andrade's own countryman, García Velloso, who says: "If Olegario Andrade had united to his immense talent a philosophical and literary culture less superficial; if he had known how to put a check on the oceanic flood of his imagination, he would have been, one may be sure, one of the great immortal poets of the world."¹⁵⁰

In view of the fact that Valera had criticized so strongly the weakness of a Hugoistic extravagance in Andrade, it is noticeable that he does not offer the slightest reproof for admiration of the French in his criticism of Andrade's countryman Santiago Estrada, tho Goldberg in speaking of Estrada has said that in his prose existed the "spirit of France".¹⁵¹ This fact makes the criticism of the one the stronger by proving Valera's constant protest that he was not anti-French but approved of taking from the art of that nation the good that might be gained from it.

Valera's criticism of the works of Santiago Estrada was occasioned by the author's request that he write a prologue for his "Miscelánea". In accepting the task as an honor, Valera calls attention to the fact that he neither knows the author, except for a half-hour visit he had had with him, nor his works, except by hearsay of their fame, and that consequently he must draw his conclusions purely from a study of the work he is to preface.

He has learned that Estrada has asked other Spanish authors to write prefaces for others of his works, and that all his works are published in Barcelona. Needless to say, these data make a favorable impression upon the critic, who says, ". . . in this is seen manifest your intention that your edition be a demonstration or symbol of the fraternity of Spanish Americans and Peninsular Spaniards, and of the indestructible unity of the Iberian civilization whose bond is not broken by the waves of the Atlantic, which roll between us, nor by the memory of a war, inevitable tho fratricidal, but whose blood and whose tears are now dried,

leaving the glory clean and not faded."¹⁵²

In view of the fervent Catholicism of the author (Estrada) he will accept as indisputable truth the criterium which guides the critic in his consideration of human events, because without suppressing individual responsibility he sees in the sum total of life something divine and infallibly ordered with sovereign prescience so that everything that happens is the best that could possibly happen even tho it seem not so at the beginning.

Before discussing the actual subject matter of the study, he explains that he will expect it to be affected by three factors, namely, Europeanism and Hispanism, which are inherited, and the quality corresponding to the new national inspiration.

With a tribute to Estrada for the purity^{with} which his works have been impregnated, Valera begins his comments upon the "Miscelánea". The work is a collection of articles of various kinds in all of which the religious and moral is said to prevail.¹⁵³ Valera compares the work of Estrada with^{that of} the Ecuadorian Montalvo, and altho he finds that in most respects they make a contrast, in the common resemblance of the style of their work to that of the "Essays" of Montaigne they were of notable similarity. Where Montalvo is affected and artificial, Estrada is spontaneous and natural; while Montalvo tries to appear original, saying new things, or old ones in a new way, Estrada is content to say what he thinks and feels tho it be the same as the thot and feeling of the crowd; and he is never guilty of attempts to use high sounding phrases. In the similarity of their essays, however, they make a contrast with the English essays, which are usually extracts or criticisms of books, and freely discuss any subject, frequently

without referring to a book.

The varied subjects which the "Misceláneas" treats therefore might give occasion for discussion among readers who were not always like minded, yet the sincerity of the author was such that it was apt to convince the reader to its own theory or at least to make him enthusiastic over it, said Valera. What especially characterized the book, in the opinion of our critic, was its sanity, fruit of a sound mind and sound will. In view of Valera's estimate of this characteristic, the estimate was highly complimentary. "This sanity is, in my judgment", said the critic, "the foundation of every good work of literature; it is the reason which every critic merely literary and not scientific or philosophic must have in order to declare a work 'good'. This sanity consists in not letting oneself be led astray by distorted affections, altho they be sincere; in setting up as a basis common sense and never laying it aside, . . . in not following a vicious logic with the presumptuous courage of appearing more subtile or more profound than the rest of mortals; and in not running into extravagances in order to pass for a genius."¹⁵⁴

Thus we are prepared for Valera's statement of harmony of aesthetic theories between himself and Estrada with regard to literary criticism and we are prepared to find they have ideas in common concerning standards for poetry. The article of Estrada entitled "El ideal del Poeta" confirms our supposition. Valera calls particular attention to its views concerning the optimism which this genre of literature should maintain, despite the prevailing craze for the funereal and melancholy in the poem.

Similarly, Valera finds himself free to commend the

religious views in the articles of this author. In contrast with the pessimism and skepticism of Pascal and Bonald, the author maintains a belief in progress and a love of liberty which are purified and sanctified by his Catholicism.¹⁵⁵

Other articles which Valera mentions from this varied collection are "Liberato" from the pictures of customs; "El dolor concentrado" and "Una estatua de Alonso Cano" from the criticism of the fine arts; eulogies of illustrious persons like those of Father Jordán and of Juana Manuela Gorriti. As to la Gorriti, Valera says that the praises of her by Estrada are so great that after reading them he feels disposed to yield first place to her as an American authoress tho up to that time he had been disposed to put Avellaneda first.

While the critic does not detail the sociological and philosophical articles, the tribute which he pays them indicates that they too have deserved being called "sane", which is a test of such great importance in the judgment of the critic. Of the former he says, "In the articles in which you combat social vices or whims of fashion, such as cremation and suicide, are praiseworthy indications of your knowledge and sympathy as well as of your style and the warmth with which you defend your opinions."¹⁵⁶ Of the philosophical articles he declares the best to be Estrada's criticism of the work of José María Ramos Mejía entitled "Las neurosis de los hombres célebres en la República Argentina". The philosophical ideas for which he commends Estrada are in connection with his defense of free-will and his non-acceptance of the divorce of reason and faith, religion and science.

In closing his first letter the critic therefore expresses his esteem for Estrada because of the knowledge which his works contain, the talent with which he wrote them, and the conviction which they carried. In view of this, it is not surprising that he added that "the book, thru good fortune and merit and for the honor of Spanish letters in the widest meaning of the word Spanish, needs neither recommendation nor prop".¹⁵⁷

The second letter which Valera writes to Estrada is in recognition of a copy of the complete works which the author has sent him. The critic has now read all of the works of the author and consequently adds valuable bits to his criticisms.

Instead of containing six volumes as his first letter had said, the collection contained eight volumes which, Valera asserts, "come to increase our literary riches, and without failing to be Argentine, bring to the intellectual treasure of the metropolis new and precious jewels".¹⁵⁸ The articles which the collection contains are not usually very long, for they are articles which have been published in newspapers or given in discourses made on solemn occasions. Valera points out that the unity of the works is noticeable and is maintained thru the personality of the author, "but this unity, by the style, character, fixed and firm consequence of the opinions, is not less evident than that which is noted in the essays of Montaigne, Carlyle, Macaulay, or the Equadorian Juan Montalvo".¹⁵⁹ As to the subject matter of the whole collection, it could not be more varied, comprising: literary criticism, as Sainte Beuve; dramas and comedies, as Janin and Lemaitre; music, as Scudo; and pictures of customs, as Figaro, El Solitario, and El Curioso.

In all of the works the critic indicates a live and splendid imagination, and an indulgent nature which rather than point out their defects prefers to celebrate their beauties.

Despite the sincerity of the man, Valera questions the wisdom of some of his exalted lyricism. When I want to use such extravagances, says the critic, "I hear the voice of Maese Pedro who says, "do not encumber yourself, for all affectation is bad". With Estrada however, Valera recognizes in these flowery speeches the inherent tendency of a nature which he says is so sincere that these phrases are often more enviable than censurable.¹⁶⁰

In one place only does Valera attack Estrada for insincerity and singularly enough it proves to be an occasion of such a nature that the critic approves of the attitude. The exaggerated phrases are written in descriptions of Adelina Patti, Sarah Bernhardt, Lucía Pastor, and Santa Rosa de Lima. But as Estrada has used still more exaggerated phrases about subjects more lofty than even women, he thinks that even the strictest persons will pardon the author's attitude.

The author has earned from Valera the declaration that there was no Argentine more patriotic and no American more American than he was. But this Argentinism and this Americanism have not prevented Estrada from being very appreciative of and affectionate toward Spain, and Valera quotes the following phrase to show the love of Estrada for Spain. "Greetings, Cadiz the beautiful, Jerez the thrifty, Seville the poetic, Córdoba the Moorish, Valencia the fruitful, Barcelona the great, Zaragoza the heroic, Madrid the historic and crowned city, it befits my loyalty to declare that America is proud to have had for a mother the

invincible nation which sang the divine and the human on the lyre of Lope and Calderón; painted the mystic and the profane with the brushes of Murillo and Velázquez; carved the ideal of eternal beauty with the chisel of Cano and Montañés; scourged customs with the pen of Cervantes and Quevedo; and planted the standard of the Redeemer and the lance of her soldiers thruout the known and the unknown parts of the earth".¹⁶¹

The remaining remarks of the critic deal for the most part with the didactic works and books of travel of Estrada. Of the former class he mentions three which are particularly good, namely the funeral eulogy of Pope Pius IX, the life of Don Felix Frías, and the biographical study and defense which he makes of his ancestor don Santiago de Liniers. The first of these classes of literature was characterized by its ardent religious nature, and the funeral eulogy was the one Valera considered the best. The Life of Don Felix Frías was a patriotic production of considerable interest, and the article on Liniers, a tribute to the brave character of the martyr. The second class in this final summary (namely the books of travel) comprised the most extensive of the author's works and filled two volumes with its five distinct works. The most important of these Valera gives as "De Corrientes a Cumbariti" and "De Valparaíso a la Oroya". Both of these are historical documents of value, because while picturing vividly the scenery which they describe, they tell of the end of a bloody war. The first is set in Paraguay and the second in Peru. In the former Valera has taken special notice of the portrayal of the brave characters of the guaraníes; in the latter he mentions particularly the description of Lima and terms the

work a "very pleasing book of travel". Both give the impression that the author had witnessed what he wrote of, tho both exaggerated certain points.¹⁶²

After a study of as varied a literary collection as that of the "Miscelánea" of Estrada, it is interesting to turn with our critic to a pamphlet which was sent to him from Buenos Aires entitled "Literatura Argentina",¹⁶³ in which the author, Juan Antonio Argerich, makes a severe criticism of this literature. The article is to serve as a prologue for the Argentine section of an extensive work which Francisco Lagomaggiore was printing entitled "American Literature". Argerich divided the literature of the country into three parts, the classicism of the colonial period, the romanticism which followed, and the contemporary period which was not given a name. He predicted a magnificent future for the literature but denies its present existence because Argentina still continued in a certain mental dependency upon the Spaniards. By logical transformations of race and language, the Argentine literature was soon to become weaned from Spain "and then some Argentine author would write a book the equal of 'La Bestia Humana' of Zola", with which pompous praise Sr. Argerich practically ends his discourse."¹⁶⁴

The satire of Valera on such a proposition may be judged from the following: "Then", he says, "when the Argentines speak I know not what language, the days of glory will come and Argentine that will carry its splendors over the whole universe."¹⁶⁵ Of the author's attitude towards such writers as Marmol, Echevarría, Guido y Spano, Andrade, and Obligado, Valera says that while he praises them he does not wish to look at them thru

a microscope or to consider them as geniuses, since for him they constitute only an embryonic literature. In further derision, the critic points out that Argerich seems to think that the Argentines have a "cerebral structure different from that of the Spaniards". Valera admits that he can not understand the mania for possessing this "different cerebral structure", and adds that the mania to possess it "in order to produce a tale as delectable as 'La bestia humana' lies beyond the pale of God's pardon". As to the development of a new language, Valera indicates, as usual, the improbability of it, and adds that anyway the change is not possible for centuries, and that there will hardly be in America a man of judgment and culture who will desire such a change.¹⁶⁶

Valera does not deny however that in the past there have been men of importance who have agreed with Argerich upon this new language idea. The notable example which he mentions is a Don Juan María Gutiérrez, who felt this so strongly as to refuse to be Correspondent of the Royal Academy of the Language on the ground that he could not devote himself to helping maintain the Castilian language in a country where the immigrants of the various nations of Europe cosmopolitanize the language.¹⁶⁷ The satire which Valera wishes to put upon cosmopolitanize is indicated by the italics in which the word is printed as well as by the argument which follows, indicating that whatever jargon may be commonly talked in the streets of Buenos Aires, no good Argentine of culture ought to be willing to adopt it, any more than cultured Italians in Liorna (or elsewhere in Italy) would ever give up the language of Dante for the jargon of the streets of Liorna. By comparing the language situation with that of North

America where the immigration is even greater than in Buenos Aires, the critic shows still further the absurdity of supposing that a race would give up its inherited language.

We have noticed, however, that this subject of language was a constantly recurring one, and we are prepared to find it in the prologue to the edition of the last Argentine poet whom our author considers: Francisco Soto y Calvo. Valera treats too, incidentally, the last recorded gaucho poem,¹⁶⁸ "Nastasio".¹⁶⁹ The prologue to this poem had been written by the eminent philologist Rufino J. Cuervo, and his attitude is so pessimistic about the future of Castilian in South America that Valera says he must have been in a bad humor when he wrote the letter. To Valera, it seems entirely inconsistent that one who had worked with philological problems as much as Cuervo had could allow himself this viewpoint unless perhaps he feared for it "as one who loves very much fears lest the one whom he loves may disappear or die". Valera maintained further, that it was as ridiculous to imagine that this would happen in South America as in Spain. As much foreign literature was read one place as the other, and comparatively as little Spanish, so that the situation would remain the same for both. But Valera points out the absurdity of expecting that as soon as they reject Castilian in the South American countries the miracle of the Tower of Babel will be repeated and that each of the seventeen or eighteen different countries will suddenly have a native language of its own.¹⁷⁰

Aside from this pessimistic linguistic attitude in the prologue, Cuervo praises the "Nastasio" as it merits, says Valera. "It is a narrative written in Castilian verse, which describes

scenes of the pampas, the rustic life, the love-affairs and fortunes of a gaucho payador, whose home was destroyed and whose wife and children were killed by a terrible hurricane. Tho other similar poems have been written, such as the Evangeline of Longfellow, Valera affirms that this was not an imitation but proceeded from the observation of the author upon his land and people. Valera commends particularly the deep-felt poetical expression of the poet on the Christian resignation of the payador and his peaceful death. "The *décimas* which were supposed to be composed by the peasant, celebrating first his happiness and later his misfortune have a certain simple and spontaneous naturalness which can and should make them popular."¹⁷¹

Valera mentions another of the works of Soto y Calvo, namely, "El genio de la raza" which he commends for being "very Argentine and consequently very Spanish in its essence and origin". While the poet thus wins the general approval of the critic, the latter can not refrain from censuring one expression that the poet uses, although he admits that his objection may be considered foolish. The case in point is the use of the term "bard" for Argentine poets, or even Spanish poets, of today, despite a slight apparent justification therefor in the Academy's Dictionary. Valera contends that there would be just as much reason for calling bishops and canons "druids" as for calling modern poets "bards".¹⁷²

Thus, tho Valera had not put the poet Soto y Calvo in the group with Mármol, Echevarría, Guido y Spano, Andrade, and Obligado, he had wished to mention his works as a sample of works which had been sent him from the younger writers who tho

not ready to be placed in the hall of fame were deserving of indulgence and often times of praise. A recognition of a class of poets of moderate fame was one of the theories which the critic maintained was valuable if not necessary. In place of believing that lyric poetry was on the decline, Valera believed that the interest in it was pulsing with enthusiasm and constructive force. "Progress, liberty, love of the fatherland, and the vague and indefinite development of the human race have been fountains (in a certain sense new) of inspiration and of enthusiasm."¹⁷³ But just as Valera does not believe that all of the productions which were valuable in the course of this development should be famous, neither does he believe that all of the poets who are instrumental in advancing this perfection must be rated as superior, tho they are valuable and deserve the recognition of the critics. In this one point he admits that he does not agree with Homer, and we are interested as well as amused at his assertion that it would be a terrible thing if we should be able to endure only the reading of the great poets. For himself he says that he endures the reading of great numbers of mediocre poets and enjoys reading not a few of them. He believes, however, that the publication of such numbers of these moderately good poems is a mistake and he makes two suggestions regarding the handling of them: in the first place let the poets and those aspiring to be poets refrain and write very little; and as to the critics, let them make a distinction between good, moderately good, and bad poets, and thus avoid merely labeling poetry bad or good with no place for this moderately good class.¹⁷⁴ In other words, it may be justly said that Valera believed in constructive criticism, even as he practiced it, and by giving

consideration to poets whose works were tolerable he might lead them or someone else to profit by their efforts.

CONCLUSION

This viewpoint in a writer and critic of such fame as Juan Valera explains his suavity and finesse of expression in his literary criticism, even despite a piquant and witty irony. In place of expressing his ideas dryly and positively, instead of pouring cold water on young writers, or of chastising without consideration those who write from force of habit, he treats each from a sane standpoint. To some he gives encouragement or makes helpful suggestions to aid them in arriving at the end they seek to attain, while to others, he points out defects of thought or style at the same time not denying what merit they may have, whether or not their ideas and feelings agree with his own.

But this method has not always been understood either at home or abroad, as a result of which various just and unjust criticisms of him have been made. In so far as they apply to his criticisms of Spanish American literatures, we have noticed that in general this critical attitude is expressed with reference to three specific points: First, he is accused of being anti-French (when he criticizes adversely); Second, he is accused of wishing to fraternize with the Spanish Americans (as though that were a disreputable wish); and Third, he is accused of open flattery (when he does not criticize adversely).

1. As we have seen, the charge that Valera is anti-French is made chiefly by those whose worship of things French is so exaggerated that they wish to be allowed to follow even the bad influences of French literature, life, and habits. Valera has made good his contention that the things he criticizes in French

influence on Spanish American literatures are simply the same things that he criticizes in French influence on Spanish literature itself; and furthermore that he criticizes those same things in the influence of any literature or country upon any other literature or country. What he wants is that each literature and country while yielding to all the best influences that are brought to bear upon it shall adapt that influence to its own special native genius and thus be true to itself. This position we believe he has amply justified, as shown in our analysis of his long series of criticisms.

2. Valera admits the charge of wishing to fraternize, but proves that the motive behind that desire is wholly warrantable and proper, as we have shown in our analysis of the discussion back and forth.

3. The charge of flattery is made not only by the writers with whom Valera held his discussion, but also by a few other critics of note such as James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, who says: "La multiplicité de ses sympathies, son savoir étendu, son absence de préjugés furent un outillage presque idéal pour les fonctions de juge littéraire. Mais avec le temps, il semblait prendre peur de son intelligence, et sa courtoisie sans bornes, son désir de plaire, l'empêchèrent souvent d'arriver à une conclusion précise. Pourtant son insinuante complaisance devint parfois une arme formidable dans les 'Cartas Americanas' (1889), ou une excessive urbanité produit tout l'effet du blâme: on ferme le livre avec l'impression que les écrivains dont il y est question ont été étouffés sous les fleurs trop parfumées offertes par ce diplomate accompli." But even Fitzmaurice-Kelly has to admit that Valera

had a keen scent for ability, for he continues in the very next sentence: "Cependant, même là, il y a du flair: c'est Valera qui signala le premier l'originalité de M. Rubén Darío."¹⁷⁵

With all due respect to the wide knowledge and exquisite taste of the celebrated Irish critic and scholar, we are bound to feel, after our careful examination of the entire discussion, that he has been too severe. We find everywhere elements of very sound, helpful, constructive criticism; and in many cases the authors themselves later acknowledged that such was the case. Furthermore there are not lacking critics who see in Valera's criticism the same elements that we believe we have found, and not least among them is that genial humanist Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, who indicates his belief in the justice and fitness of Valera's criticisms, in such categorical statements as that in which he substitutes for his own estimate of Olegario V. Andrade the criticism of Valera in his "Cartas Americanas": "No tenemos que pedir cuentas al poeta de la falsedad intrínseca de muchos conceptos suyos, ni censurar, como en otra parte fuera justo y debido, el espíritu sectario a que rinde tributo; su filosofía de la historia superficial y enmarañada; su pomposo latinismo de raza, que viene a resolverse en un galicismo perpetuo; sus mil candideces democráticas; su incoherente simbolismo religioso. De todo esto ya dió cuenta D. Juan Valera en una carta tan ingeniosa y amena como todas las suyas."¹⁷⁶

And we shall quote one more critic to the same effect; we refer to the late Director of the Spanish Royal Academy of the Language, Alejandro Pidal y Mon: "Era, como es a todos notorio, D. Juan Valera, un espíritu libre y original, adiestrado en toda

clásica disciplina, identificado con el genio literario español en sus formas más acendradas y castizas, abierto a todo viento de inspiración tanto nacional como extranjera y dotado de aquella difícil facilidad en la expresión serena y llana de las más trascendentales doctrinas, que se iluminaban, al pasar por los bien cortados puntos de su pluma, con la clara y apacible luz meridional que limpia sin esfuerzo y como sin querer el ambiente de todo vago y malsano linaje de brumas y de nieblas sin que falte por eso, en la oportuna sazón, al lado de la luminosa transparencia castellana, el cambiante que colora con uno y otro matiz los verjeles pintorescos del Norte ni el toque de vivísima lumbre con que dora y como que incendia el africano sol las feraces campiñas andaluzas.

"Su saber y su erudición atesorados en su prodigiosa memoria, su vasta cultura universal acrecida en viajes y lecturas de todas las literaturas humanas, su talento crítico, sagaz, profundo y observador, su carácter modesto, pero independiente y un patriotismo tan ajeno a jactancias irreflexivas como a abdicaciones injustificadas, le hacían apto como quien más para trabajos como el presente, como lo pregona a gritos más que a voces con su reconocido valer el estudio con que enriqueció los fastos de esta Academia en su celebrado discurso sobre el 'Quijote'." ¹⁷⁷

We have thus seen that whether or not he accomplished his desire to further the fraternization of all the peoples of Spanish speech, his influence can not have been anything but a beneficent and steadying force to a whole generation of young writers in the eighteen new countries of Spanish America, as it was indeed to contemporary writers of his own land.

NOTES

Introduction.

¹José Ingenieros, Sociología Argentina, cap. II, pág. 38, 39 ss.; Esteban Echeverría, Obras, T. V, pág. 243 ss.; Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Conflicto y Armonías de las Razas en América, T. 37, cap. IV, pág. 164; Bartolomé Mitre, Historia de Belgrano, T. 1, cap. I y II; Juan B. Alberdi, Estudios Económicos, cap. III; Lorenzo de Zavala, Ensayo Histórico de las Revoluciones de México, T. 1, cap. I.

²Esteban Echeverría, Plan Económico; Mariano Moreno, Escritos, cap. "Representación de los Hacendados; Domingo Sarmiento, op. cit.; Juan B. Alberdi, op. cit.; José Ingenieros, op. cit., cap. II, pág. 44 ss.

³Simón Bolívar, Cartas.

⁴Alexander von Humboldt, Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain; Francisco Javier Clavijero, Historia Antigua de México; José Ingenieros, Sociología Argentina, pág. 39 y 40 (quotes J. J. Morato, Historia de los modos de producción de España); V. F. López, Historia de la República Argentina, T. 5 y 8.

⁵Alexander von Humboldt, op. cit., cap. VI; Juan B. Alberdi, op. cit., cap. IV; Esteban Echeverría in his posthumous work on the Antecedentes y primeros pasos de la Revolución de Mayo, says: "La sociedad americana estaba dividida en tres clases opuestas en intereses, sin vínculo alguno de sociabilidad moral y política. Componían la primera, el Clero, los togados y los mandones: la segunda, los enriquecidos por el monopolio y el capricho de la fortuna; la tercera, los villanos, llamados 'gauchos y compadritos' en el Río de la Plata; 'cholos' en el Perú; 'rotos' en Chile; 'léperos' en Mejico. Las castas indígenas y africanas eran esclavas y tenían una existencia extrasocial. La primera gozaba sin producir y tenía el poder y fueros del hidalgo, era la Aristocracia compuesta en su mayor parte de españoles y de muy pocos americanos.

"La segunda gozaba ejerciendo tranquilamente su industria o comercio: era la Clase media que se sentaba en los Cabildos. La tercera, única productora por el trabajo manual, componíase de artesanos y proletarios de todo género.

"Los descendientes Americanos de las dos primeras clases, que recibían alguna educación en América o en la Península fueron los que levantaron el estandarte de la Revolución." (Obras, T.V, pág. 247.)

⁶José Ingenieros, op. cit., cap. II, pág. 44; Lorenzo de Zavala, op. cit., cap. I, pág. 9

⁷Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Antología de Poetas Hispano-Americanos, T. 4, pag. 186-186; op. cit., pag. 177, (quotes Calixto

Oyuela, Carta a Rafael Obligado, 1885)

Part One

⁸Juan Valera, Cartas Americanas, T. 1, pag.11, ". . la intención que me mueve y el asunto de que trato le prestan interés, del cual usted, que con tanto fruto cultiva la historia política de nuestra nación, sabrá estimar el atractivo."

⁹Op. cit., T. 1, pág. 13.

¹⁰Op. cit., T. 1, pág. 16, "La América española dista mucho de ser mentalmente infecunda.

¹¹Op. cit., T. 1, pág.17, "Mis cartas carecen de verdadera unidad. Son un conato de dar á conocer pequeníssima parte de tan extenso asunto. Las dirijo á autores que me han enviado sus libros."

¹²Op. cit., T. 1, pág.16.

¹³Op. cit., T. 1, pág.16, "Cualquiera que procure darlos á conocer entre nosotros, creo yo que presta un servicio á las letras y contribuye á la confirmación de la idea de unidad, que persiste, á pesar de la división política."

¹⁴Op.cit., T. 1, pág.13 s,"Los americanos supusieron que cuanto malo les ocurría era transmisión hereditaria de nuestra sangre, de nuestra cultura y de nuestras instituciones. Algunos llegaron al extremo de sostener que, si no hubiéramos ido á América y atajado, en su marcha ascendente, la cultura de Méjico y del Perú, hubiera habido en América una gran cultura original y propia. Nosotros, en cambio, imaginamos, ya que las razas indígenas y la sangre africana,mezclándose con la raza y sangre españolas, las viciaron é incapacitaron; ya que bastó á los criollos el pecado original del españolismo para que, en virtud de ineludible ley histórica, estuviesen condenados á desaparecer y perderse en otras razas europeas, más brías y entendidas.

"El mal concepto que formamos unos de otros, al trascender de la desunión política, estuvo á punto de consumir el divorcio mental, cimentado en el odio y hasta en el injusto menosprecio."

¹⁵Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 19.

¹⁶Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 20.

¹⁷Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 21.

¹⁸Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 22.

¹⁹Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 22.

²⁰Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 24, "Hágase usted cuenta de que Víctor Hugo es algo semejante: es un Góngora francés de nuestros días. Ha escrito más que Góngora, y ha tenido más aciertos, y ha creado más bellezas que Góngora; pero también ha dicho muchísimos más disparates."

²¹Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 22, "Yo he llegado á decir que pongo á Victor Hugo en el trono como rey de los poetas de nuestro siglo por su fecundidad, por su pujanza de imaginación y por otras prendas. . ."

²²Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 23, "Ni yo me contradigo elogiando en general y tratando luego, en los pormenores, de hacer añicos el ídolo que he levantado. El ídolo quedaría en pie, aunque de mi voluntad dependiese derribarle; pero lo que hay en él de feo y de deforme no se lo quitarán de encima sus más elocuentes adoradores."

²³Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 28 s., "La diferencia entre usted y el Sr. Rivas Groot por un lado, y yo por otro, está en que yo le elogio á pesar de sus pecados, y usted y su compatriota encarecen el elogio hasta declararle impecable."

²⁴Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 29.

²⁵Op.cit., T. 1, pag. 164 s., ". . .habré yo pecado denigrando, ó rebajando al menos, el mérito del gran poeta por odio y envidia de español contra lo francés en particular, y en general contra todo lo extranjero?"

²⁶James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Littérature Espagnole, pág. 434 s.

²⁷J. D. M. Ford, Main Currents of Spanish Literature, p. 224.

²⁸Angel Salcedo Ruiz, La Literatura Espanola, pág. 580.

²⁹Juan Valera, Cartas Americanas, T. 1, pág. 165.

³⁰Op. cit., T. 1, pág. 165, "Hasta los poetas, que por lo común son arrogantes, eran humildes en España al compararse con los extranjeros. Lope de Vega, por ejemplo, que no me parece que era un poeta de tres al cuarto, decía, refiriéndose á los italianos, que no se atrevía á competir con ellos,

'Que son solos y soles,
El con sus rudos versos españoles.'"

³¹Op. cit., T. 1, pág. 165,

³²J. V. Lastarria, Recuerdos Literarios, pág. 118 s.

³³Op. cit., pág. 129.

³⁴Juan Agustín Barriga, Discursos Literarios y Notas Críticas, pág. 15.

³⁵J. V. Lastarria, Op.cit., págs.131-5.

³⁶Juan Agustín Barriga, op.cit., pág. 12.

³⁷Juan Valera, op. cit., T. 2, pág. 113, "Yo no creo posible que, mientras haya lengua española, haya más que Literatura española, donde nuestra lengua se habla. . ."

³⁸Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 11.

³⁹Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 12, "Si á mí, como aseguran, me sucede algo parecido, ya pueden ustedes confiar en que no hay adulación en mis alabanzas y no agradecérmelas, pues son involuntarias. Y cuando hubiere algo de censura, deberán perdonármelo también por el mismo motivo."

⁴⁰Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 12 s., "Si esto hubiera llegado hasta el extremo que dichos escritores aseguran, yo no dejaría de aplaudir la maravillosa imparcialidad histórica con que sostendrían la verdad; pero no sabría yo disimular que, al sostenerla, arrojarían sobre ellos mayor injuria que sobre nosotros, porque la sangre española que corre por sus venas procede, más que la nuestra, de aquellos atroces foragidos, y la sangre india, en lo que de indios puedan tener, es de una raza que, según afirman Montalvo y otros, nosotros hemos envilecido y degradado para siempre con nuestros malos tratos y con nuestra brutal tiranía."

⁴¹Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 168, "'Nuestro amigo D. Juan Valera puede tomar nota de este sucedido para sus notables 'Cartas Americanas'.'"

⁴²Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 191, "Mi intento, al escribir estas cartas, no es suscitar polémicas con los hispano-americanos, sino reanudar hasta donde sea posible, las amistades que deben durar entre todos los hombres de sangre y de lengua españolas. Para ello no quiero adular á ustedes, sino dar á conocer en esta Península los mejores frutos de su ingenio, juzgándolos con justicia."

⁴³Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 170, "Entonces escribió usted 'Cumandá' y se la dedicó al director de la Academia ó más bien á la Academia misma, ya que usted ruega al director que presente la obra á la Academia, y termina diciendo: 'Ojalá merezca su simpatía y benevolencia, y la mire siquiera como una florecilla extraña, hallada en el seno de ignotas selvas, y que á fuer de extraña, tenga cabida en el inapreciable ramillete de las flores literarias de la madre patria'. "

⁴⁴Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 171, ". . . todo lo cual redundaba en gloria de España y es nuevo lazo de amistad entre ella y su antigua colonia, hoy República del Ecuador."

⁴⁵Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 13, ". . . me inclino á creer que mucho de lo que se dice contra nosotros, se dice por el prurito de aparecer muy sentimentales y muy ilustrados á la moda de París y de Londres, . . ."

⁴⁶Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 173.

⁴⁷Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 173.

⁴⁸Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 172.

⁴⁹Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 174.

⁵⁰Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 174.

⁵¹Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 175, "Lo absurdo de este sofista declamador no merecería respuesta si no estuviese algo del mismo sentimiento en la masa de la sangre de no pocos hispano-americanos. que así escupen contra el cielo y les cae encima: porque si son indios de sangre se declaran humillados, moralmente estropeados y abandonados de Dios por los siglos de los siglos; y si son españoles, reos de la muerte moral y de la condenación perpétua é irremediable de millones de seres humanos; y si son mestizos son abominable amalgama de español y de indio, de la raza degradada y del cruel y tiránico verdugo que acertó á degradarla para siempre."

⁵²Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 176 s., "Claro está, pues, que los indios hasta literatura dramática tenían, y que el teatro era una de las más nobles diversiones de la corte de los incas."

⁵³Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 177, "'El poder exterminador de la conquista, exclama usted, arrancó de raíz el genio poético de los indios, y en su lugar hizo surgir de los abismos el espectáculo de la desolación y del espanto. El numen de la armonía no pudo vivir entre los vicios y la depravación de la gente española.'"

⁵⁴Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 177 s., "'Los caciques de este valle de Nore - dice - buscaban por las tierras de sus enemigos todas las mujeres que podían; las cuales, traídas á sus casas, usaban con ellas como con las suyas propias, y si se emparejaban de ellos, los hijos que nacían los criaban con mucho regalo hasta que cumplían doce ó trece años, y desde esta edad, estando bien gordos, los comían con gran sabor, etc.'"

⁵⁵Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 180, "Los tales versos son la única reliquia que ostenta usted de la genuina civilización de esas tierras, donde no sólo había aravicos ó poetas, sino también amautas ó sabios y filósofos."

56Op. cit., T. 2, pág. 182.

57Op. cit., T. 2, pág. 183, "La América de hoy en lo humano y en lo culto, no es más que una parte de esta Europa transportada á ese nuevo y vasto continente."

58Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 184, "Lo que yo sostengo es que ni el salvajismo de las tribus indígenas en general, ni la semicultura ó semibarbarie de peruanos, aztecas y chibchas, añadió nada á esa civilización que ahí llevamos y que ustedes mantienen y quizá mejoran y magnifican."

59Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 185.

60Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 186.

61Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 188.

62Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 189.

63Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 190.

64Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 198.

65Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 198, "Bien merece llamarse ilustrado en las colonias el gobierno de Carlos III y de sus sucesores hasta el momento en que se proclamó la independencia. La más brillante demostración de tal verdad la dieron los mismos eminentes americanos que tanto honraron á su patria en las Cortes de Cádiz, que pelearon por la independencia y que la cantaron en hermosos é inmortales versos. Sucre, Bolivar, Olmedo, Bello y muchos otros, bajo el régimen colonial habían sido educados."

66Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 199, "¿Cómo fué que desde que ustedes sacudieron el pesado yugo de España (no hablamos aquí de ciencias, pues me limito á hablar de la poesía de que habla la 'Ojeada') apenas han tenido ustedes un buen poeta?"

67Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 199, "Casi todos los poetas son doctores: el doctor Riofrío, el doctor Carvajal, el doctor Corral, el doctor Cordero, el doctor Castro, el doctor Avilez, el doctor Córdoba. A todos estos doctores y á otros que no lo son, los iguala usted en el tocar ó pulsar la lira. A todos, al ponerlos usted en su 'Ojeada', los pone en berlina, con delectación morosa, examinando sus composiciones y dejándolas harto mal paradas.

"Me admiro de la crueldad de usted, tal vez indispensable."

68Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 201.

69James Fitzmaurice Kelly, Littérature Espagnole, pág. 434 s.

70El Conde De Las Navas, Don Juan Valera, T. 2, pág. 16.

71Juan Valera, op.cit., T. 2, pág. 192.

72Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 255.

73Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 254.

74Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 260.

75Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 260, "Vea usted porqué me ha desazonado tanto la declaración de Clarín de que en España no hay ahora sino 2,50 poetas. ¿Qué nos queda si la poesía se nos quita?"

76Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 262.

77Op.cit., T. 3, pág. 11.

78Op.cit., T. 3, pág. 167 s., "No es mi propósito dar noticias ni discurrir sobre la situación política y económica de España. Quede esto al cuidado de otros escritores. Yo diré sólo que, en mi sentir, no ahora, sino desde hace bastantes años, el florecimiento literario y artístico de nuestra nación tiene poco ó nada que envidiar al de las naciones más cultas y prósperas del resto de Europa."

79Op.cit., T. 4, pág. 168, "No desistiré y de tratar en estos artículos de novelas y de versos. Procuraré dar noticia crítica de cuanto nuevo salga á luz en amena literatura, pero he de tratar también de libros de erudición y de ciencia, empezando hoy á decir algo de ellos, aunque en cifra y resumen."

80Op.cit., T. 4, pág. 177.

81Op.cit., T. 4, pág. 167.

82Op.cit., T. 4, pág. 293.

83Op.cit., T. 4, pág. 146.

84Op.cit., T. 4, pág. 145, "Pero ya sea porque esta high-life española no gusta de leer y de escribir ó no tiene tiempo para ello, ya sea porque no se considera inculta ni va á Francia para instruirse, sino para divertirse y engalanarse, lo cierto es que contribuye poco ó nada á la penetración y difusión del pensamiento francés entre nosotros. La literatura contemporánea española será más ó menos buena y apreciable, pero sigue siendo bastante original."

85Op.cit., T. 3, págs. 239-241.

86Op.cit., T. 4, pág. 145, "Hasta cuando los que escriben deprisa, para ganar la vida, principalmente con la literatura dramática, traducen ó arreglan piezas francesas, por ser esto más fácil que inventarlas, lo hacen con tal gracia, ó sin gracia, pero tan mañosamente, que no parece francés lo que han traducido ó arreglado."; pag. 146, "Lo contrario noto yo que ocurre por lo común, en casi todas las repúblicas hispano-americanas, salvo acaso en Colombia, donde siguen siendo tan castizos ó más que en España."

⁸⁷Op.cit., T. 4, pág. 146.

⁸⁸Op.cit., T. 4, pág. 151.

⁸⁹Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 293.

⁹⁰Op.cit., T. 3, pág. 55.

⁹¹Op.cit., T. 3, pág. 56.

⁹²Op.cit., T. 4, pág. 57.

Part Two

⁹³Op. cit., T. 1, pág. 100.

⁹⁴Op. cit., T. 1, pág. 101.

⁹⁵Op. cit., T. 2, págs. 138, 146

⁹⁶Op. cit., T. 1, pág. 92.

⁹⁷Op. cit., T. 1, pág. 92.

⁹⁸Op. cit., T. 1, pág. 93, "Las generales son las que en el siglo presente, aunque se llama positivo, hacen que florezca la poesía en todas las regiones de la tierra, como no ha florecido nunca. Y en cuanto á lo castizo y propio, las causas son especiales. Ya sea porque nuestro lenguaje poético está más trabajado y formado, ya sea porque nuestra prosodia es tan distinta de la francesa, ello es que, aun queriendo, el poeta español más entusiasta de los franceses no acertará á imitarlos en la forma si escribe en castellano."

⁹⁹Alfred Coester, The Literary History of Spanish America, p.114

¹⁰⁰Op.cit., p. 114.

¹⁰¹Juan Valera, Cartas Americanas, T. 1, pág. 96.

¹⁰²Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 97.

¹⁰³Op.cit., T. 3, pág. 61.

¹⁰⁴Op.cit., T. 3, pág. 61 s, "Oyuela, en vez de romper esa cadena que parte de Grecia y pasa por Italia y España, quiere prolongarla y hacerla más rica y hermosa, adornándola con nuevos eslabones y con espléndidas joyas."

¹⁰⁵Alfred Coester, op. cit., p. 150.

¹⁰⁶Op.cit., pp. 150-1.

¹⁰⁷Juan Valera, op. cit., T. 3, pág. 62.

¹⁰⁸Op.cit., T. 3, pág. 63.

- 109Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 78.
- 110Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 80.
- 111Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 81.
- 112Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 82.
- 113Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 83.
- 114Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 84.
- 115Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 85.
- 116Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 85.
- 117Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 86.
- 118Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 87.
- 119Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 98.
- 120Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 102.
- 121Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 106.
- 122Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 109.
- 123Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 110.
- 124Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 107.
- 125Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 107.
- 126Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 106.
- 127Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 106.
- 128Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 111.
- 129Alfred Coester, The Literary History of Spanish America, p.155.
- 130Juan Valera, op. cit., T. 1, pág. 111 s.
- 131Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 119.
- 132Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 122.
- 133Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 122.
- 134Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 123.
- 135Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 127.
- 136Emilic Alonso Criado, Literatura Argentina, pág. 79.
- 137Juan Valera, op.cit., T. 1, pág. 129.
- 138Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 131.

- 139Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 135.
- 140Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 136 s.
- 141J. D. M. Ford, Main Currents of Spanish Literature, pp.271-2.
- 142Op.cit. pp. 271-2.
- 143Enrique García Velloso, Historia de la Literatura Argentina, pág. 449.
- 144Juan Valera, op.cit., T. 1, pág. 141.
- 145Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 142.
- 146Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 142.
- 147Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 146 s.
- 148Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 151.
- 149Op.cit., T. 1, pág. 152.
- 150Enrique García Velloso, op.cit., pág. 449.
- 151Isaac Goldberg, Studies in Spanish-American Literature, p. 110.
- 152Juan Valera, op. cit., T. 2, pág. 225.
- 153Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 228.
- 154Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 231.
- 155Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 232.
- 156Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 233.
- 157Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 234.
- 158Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 235.
- 159Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 236.
- 160Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 237.
- 161Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 238.
- 162Op.cit., T. 2, pág. 241.
- 163Op.cit., T. 3, pág. 107.
- 164Op.cit., T. 3, pág. 109.
- 165Op.cit., T. 3, pág. 108.
- 166Op.cit., T. 3, pág. 110.

167^{Op.cit.}, T. 3, pág. 111.

168^{Alfred Coester, The Literary History of Spanish America, p. 145.}

169^{Juan Valera, op.cit.}, T. 4, pág. 301.

170^{Op.cit.}, T. 4, pág. 302.

171^{Op.cit.}, T. 4, pág. 303.

172^{Op.cit.}, T. 4, pág. 303 s.

173^{Op.cit.}, T. 4, pág. 299.

174^{Op.cit.}, T. 4, pág. 300.

Conclusion

175^{James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Littérature Espagnole, pág. 434 s.}

176^{Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Antología de Poetas Hispano-Americanos, T. IV, pag. 189.}

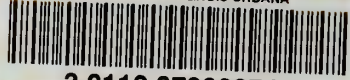
177^{Juan Valera, Obras Completas, T. 2, pag. 306 s.}

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